

# DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

"OPEN THY MOUTH FOR THE DUMB, IN THE CAUSE OF ALL SUCH AS ARE APPOINTED TO DESTRUCTION; OPEN THY MOUTH, JUDGE RIGHTEOUSLY, AND PLEAD THE CAUSE OF THE POOR AND NEEDY."—1st Eccl. xxxi. 8, 9.

VOLUME II. }  
NUMBER VI. }

ROCHESTER, N. Y., (U. S.) NOVEMBER, 1859.

PRICE—  
FIVE SHILLINGS PER ANNUM

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We take the liberty of using the names of the following gentlemen who will receive names and subscriptions for the *Monthly*:

London—Mr. L. A. CAMEROVZOW, A. S. Office, 27 New Broad street, E. C.

Dublin—Mr. WM. WEBB, 52 High street, and 8 Dunville Avenue, Rathmines.

Derby—Dr. SPENCER T. HALL, Burton Road.

Glasgow—Mr. JOHN SMITH, 173 Trongate.

Halifax—Rev. RUSSELL LANT CARPENTER, Milton Place.

Leeds—Mr. ARTHUR HOLLAND, 4 Park Row.

Newcastle-on-Tyne—Mr. W. S. PRINGLE.

### CAPT. JOHN BROWN NOT INSANE.

One of the most painful incidents connected with the name of this old hero, is the attempt to prove him insane. Many journals have contributed to this effort from a friendly desire to shield the prisoner from Virginia's cowardly vengeance. This is a mistaken friendship, which seeks to rob him of his true character and dim the glory of his deeds, in order to save his life. Was there the faintest hope of securing his release by this means, we would choke down our indignation and be silent. But a Virginia court would hang a crazy man without a moment's hesitation, if his insanity took the form of hatred of oppression; and this plea only blasts the reputation of this glorious martyr of liberty, without the faintest hope of improving his chance of escape.

It is an appalling fact in the history of the American people, that they have so far forgotten their own heroic age, as readily to accept the charge of insanity against a man who has imitated the heroes of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill.

It is an effeminate and cowardly age, which calls a man a lunatic because he rises to such self-forgetful heroism, as to count his own life as worth nothing in comparison with the freedom of millions of his fellows. Such an age would have sent GIDEON to a mad-house, and put LEONIDAS in a strait-jacket. Such a people would have treated the defenders of Thermopylae as demented, and shut up CAIUS MARCUS in bedlam. Such a marrowless population as ours has become under the debaucheries of Slavery, would have struck the patriot's crown from the brow of WALLACE, and recommended blisters and bleeding to the

heroic TELL. WALLACE was often and again as desperately forgetful of his own life in defense of Scotland's freedom, as was BROWN in striking for the American slave; and TELL's defiance of the Austrian tyrant, was as far above the appreciation of cowardly selfishness, as was BROWN's defiance of the Virginia pirates. Was ARNOLD WINKELMIED insane when he rushed to his death upon an army of spears, crying 'make way for Liberty!' Are heroism and insanity synonyms in our American dictionary? Heaven help us! when our loftiest types of patriotism, our sublimest historic ideals of philanthropy, come to be treated as evidence of moon-struck madness. Posterity will owe everlasting thanks to JOHN BROWN for lifting up once more to the gaze of a nation grown fat and flabby on the garbage of lust and oppression, a true standard of heroic philanthropy, and each coming generation will pay its installment of the debt. No wonder that the aiders and abettors of the huge, overshadowing and many-armed tyranny, which he grappled with in its own infernal den, should call him a mad man; but for those who profess a regard for him, and for human freedom, to join in the cruel slander, 'is the unkindest cut of all.'

Nor is it necessary to attribute BROWN's deeds to the spirit of vengeance, invoked by the murder of his brave boys. That the barbarous cruelty from which he has suffered had its effect in intensifying his hatred of slavery, is doubtless true. But his own statement, that he had been contemplating a bold strike for the freedom of the slaves for ten years, proves that he had resolved upon his present course long before he, or his sons, ever set foot in Kansas. His entire procedure in this matter disproves the charge that he was prompted by an impulse of mad revenge, and shows that he was moved by the highest principles of philanthropy. His carefulness of the lives of unarmed persons—his humane and courteous treatment of his prisoners—his cool self-possession all through his trial—and especially his calm, dignified speech on receiving his sentence, all conspire to show that he was neither insane or actuated by vengeful passion; and we hope that the country has heard the last of JOHN BROWN's madness. The explanation of his conduct is perfectly natural and simple on its face. He believes the Declaration of Independence to be true, and the Bible to be a guide to human conduct, and acting upon the doctrines of both, he threw himself against the serried ranks of American oppression, and translated into heroic deeds the love of liberty and hatred of tyrants, with which he was inspired from both these forces acting upon his philanthropic and heroic soul. This age is too gross and sensual to appreciate his deeds, and so calls him mad; but the future will write his epitaph upon the hearts of a people freed from slavery, because he struck the first effectual blow.

Not only is it true that BROWN's whole movement proves him perfectly sane and free

from merely vengeful passion, but he has struck the bottom line of the philosophy which underlies the abolition movement. He has attacked slavery with the weapons precisely adapted to bring it to the death. Moral considerations have long since been exhausted upon slaveholders. It is in vain to reason with them. One might as well hunt bears with ethics and political economy for weapons, as to seek to 'pluck the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor' by the mere force of moral law. Slavery is a system of brute force. It shields itself behind *might*, rather than right. It must be met with its own weapons. Capt. BROWN has initiated a new mode of carrying on the crusade of freedom, and his blow has sent dread and terror throughout the entire ranks of the piratical army of slavery. His daring deeds may cost him his life, but priceless as is the value of that life, the blow he has struck, will, in the end, prove to be worth its mighty cost. Like SAMSON, he has laid his hands upon the pillars of this great national temple of cruelty and blood, and when he falls, that temple will speedily crumble to its final doom, burying its denizens in its ruins.

DR. GEORGE B. CHEEVER IN ROCHESTER.—The Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society deserve our thanks for inviting Dr. CHEEVER to Rochester. His four sermons delivered in Corinthian Hall during the week, were a glorious protest against human oppression, made in the name of the great God of human nature and the gospel of Jesus Christ. His Bible argument against slavery was a tower of strength, armed with the thunders and lightning of God's word, wielded by one of the best minds of the age, inspired with profound reverence for truth, and glowing with deep and tender love for man. Such men as Dr. CHEEVER restore our respect for the gospel minister and his vocation, and refresh and re-assure our confidence of soul in the religion of the Bible.

We thank Dr. CHEEVER, in the name of the poor oppressed slaves of this thrice-guilty nation, for his brave words and iron-linked arguments in their cause, and for giving us a new revelation of the self-forgetful faithfulness and heroism of the true minister of the gospel in this age of clerical plush and velvet.

REQUISITION FOR GERRIT SMITH.—The report that Gov. Wise had made a requisition upon Gov. Morgan for the surrender of Gerrit Smith, has been contradicted by a dispatch from Richmond, Nov. 9.

—The N. Y. Herald says that 'the next Congress will be the most important body that has assembled in the United States for the past fifty years. Its members will be called upon to discuss the present condition of our national affairs, which have lately assumed a very grave, not to say alarming and dangerous phase. The debates of the next Congress may go far to demonstrate whether or not our governmental experiment is a failure, and they will be watched with the most intense interest by the whole civilized world.'



## TO MY AMERICAN READERS AND FRIENDS.

DEAR READERS AND FRIENDS:—About to leave my post as Editor for a long contemplated visit and lecturing tour in Great Britain, which may detain me many months from my Editorial duties, the peculiar circumstances of the occasion seem to justify me in saying to you a few parting words. In ordinary conditions, considering the rapidity, safety and certainty with which a journey is now made to Europe—almost converting the two continents into one—a simple voyage from America to Great Britain would not seem to warrant a very ceremonious and formal parting, or to require apology or explanation.

In any circumstances however, I should be most freely pardoned by all right feeling men and women, if while looking around upon the scores of kind and earnest friends who, during the last eighteen years, have cheered and sustained me by their sympathy and co-operation, in my humble labors to promote the emancipation and elevation of my people, I should let fall a tearful word at the thought of parting, and breathe one heart prayer that the cause of justice and benevolence, the bond of our friendship, may continue to fill their hearts and command their best exertions for its ultimate triumph. Neither the long experience of partings and meetings, nor the calmness borrowed from philosophy avail me anything, as I say to my friends and readers, farewell. Even the delightful prospect of renewing the *bonds-fraternal* formed in Great Britain and Ireland, during my visit to those countries fourteen years ago, fails to shield me from the keen edge of regret at leaving the friends here, in the present state of the Anti-Slavery question. Dark and perilous as is the hour—maddened and vengeful as is the slave power—the infuriated demon of Slavery never seemed to me more certain of extirpation than now. At the present moment, Slavery seems to have gained an advantage. The audacity of the attack made upon it by that stern old hero, who looks death full in the face with a steady eye and undaunted heart, while pierced with bayonet wounds and covered with sabre gashes, has created for the moment, perhaps, a more active resistance to the cause of freedom and its advocates; but this is transient. The moment of passion and revenge will pass away, and reason and righteousness will all the more, for this sudden shock, roll their thundering appeal to the ear and heart of this guilty nation.

The Christian blood of Old JOHN BROWN will not cease to cry from the ground long after the clamors of alarm and consternation of the dealers in the bodies and souls of men will have ceased to arrest attention. Men will soon begin to look away from the plot to the purpose—from the effect to the cause—Then will come the reaction—and the names now covered with execration will be mentioned with honor, as noble martyrs to a righteous cause. Yes, sad and deplorable as was the battle of Harper's Ferry, it will not prove a total loss to the cause of Liberty. The sharp crack of the rifles there, proclaiming LIBERTY TO THE CAPTIVE, CRUELLY LEFT IN BONDAGE BY OUR BOASTED RELIGION AND LAW, MAY ROUSE A DEAD CHURCH AND DUMB MINISTRY TO THE DUTY OF PUTTING AWAY THIS DARK AND DANGEROUS SIN. The silent heights of the Alleghenies, leading in grandeur against the pure blue sky, will hereafter look down and speak

to the slave with a loving and wooing voice. The benumbed conscience of the nation will be revived and become susceptible of right impressions. The slaveholders of Virginia and the South generally, are endeavoring to make the impression that the negroes summoned to the standard of freedom by JOHN BROWN, viewed the effort to emancipate them with indifference. An eye witness, and a prominent actor in the transactions at Harper's Ferry, now at my side, tells me that this is grossly aside from the truth. But even if the contrary were shown, it would afford small comfort to the slaveholders. The slaves were sensible enough not to shout before they gained the prize, and their conduct was creditable to their wisdom. The brief space allowed them in freedom, was not sufficient to bring home to them in its fullness the real significance of the occasion. All the efforts to disparage the valor of the colored insurgents are grounded in the fears of the slaveholders, not in the facts of the action. They report many dead insurgents, and few killed among those who opposed them. I have at last seen one man among the insurgents reported killed, who is still alive and bids fair to live yet many years. On many accounts, were the thing possible, I should be glad to use the event at Harper's Ferry, and the state of feeling it has produced, before the American people. But there is work abroad as well as at home. Efforts will be made in England as well as in America to turn the Harper's Ferry insurrection to the account of Slavery. I may, for a time, be useful there, in resisting and counteracting these efforts.

It will probably be charged, by those who delight in any pretext for aspersing me, that I go to England to escape the demands of justice for my alleged complicity with the Harper's Ferry insurrection. I am not ashamed of endeavoring to escape from such justice as might be rationally expected by a man of color at the hands of a slaveholding court, sitting in the State of Virginia. I am not a favorite in that State, and even if acquitted by the court, with my knowledge of slaveholding magnanimity and civilization, I could scarcely hope to re-cross the slaveholding border with my life. There is no more dishonor in trying to keep out of the way of such a court, than there would be in keeping out of the way of a company of hungry wolves.—Nevertheless, it is only due to truth to state, that for more than a year past I have been making arrangements *not* to go to Harper's Ferry, but to England. This has been known alike to both friends and foes. My going, too, has been delayed, rather than hastened, by the occurrence of that outbreak.—The fact of my known intention to visit England in November, and my published lecturing engagements in different parts of the State of New York, plainly show that no man had any right to expect my personal co-operation elsewhere. I am, however, free to confess that I deem England a safer asylum for me than any afforded by the President of the United States. I have once before found shelter and protection in a monarchy, from the slavehunters of this Republic, and am indebted not to democratic humanity or justice for the liberty I have enjoyed during the last dozen years, and amid all the atrocities under the Fugitive Slave Bill in America—but to humane British men and women who bought

my body and bones with British gold, and made me a present to myself—a free, an unsolicited gift. In other words, they gave me back the body originally given me by my Creator, but which had been stolen from me under the singularly just and generous laws of a republican slave State! I thank God that there is at least one Christian country on this globe where a colored man as well as a white man may rest secure from the fury and vengeance of alarmed and terrified slaveholders, the meanest tyrants that ever cursed the earth by their cruelty, or insulted Heaven by their blasphemous arrogance.

Almost ever since the Harper's Ferry disturbance, I have been assured that U. S. Marshals, in strong force, have been in search of me at different points, but chiefly at Rochester. A government which refuses to acknowledge—nay, denies that I can be a citizen, or bring a suit into its courts of justice—in a word, brands me as an outlaw in virtue of my blood, now professes a wish to try me for being a traitor and an outlaw! To be a traitor, two conditions are necessary: First—one must have a government; secondly—he must be found in armed rebellion against that government. I am guilty of neither element of treason. The American government refuses to shelter the negro under its protecting wing, and makes him an outlaw. The government is therefore quite unreasonable and inconsistent. Allegiance and protection are said to go together, and depend upon each other. When one is withdrawn, the other ceases. But I think Mr. BUCHANAN is not only unreasonable and inconsistent in his design upon me, but a little cowardly withal. The plan seems to be to strike where his blows are likely to meet the least resistance. It cannot be that I am worthy of the extra attention paid me by the government. The Rochester *Union* very properly raises the inquiry as to why I am especially singled out.—Am I more involved than others whose names have been mentioned in connection with the name of dear Old OSSAWATOMIE BROWN?—The eagerness to get hold of me, while the other and more popular men, happened to be equally compromised, are merely threatened shows that my color, as well as my alleged crime, enters into the calculations of the government, and that it professes to arrest first those who can be arrested easiest. In this it acts with its usual cowardice.

But really, dear readers, I am much too highly honored by the importance given me in connection with this Harper's Ferry affair. My relation to it is far less important than friends or enemies seem to suppose. A letter sent for publication elsewhere, and which I hope will be inserted here, will give you a pretty clear idea of my true relation to that transaction.

In conclusion, I hope to be able to continue the regular publication of my paper during my absence, and to keep in correspondence with those who shall continue to stand by my little anti-slavery sheet. If this shall be done, (and I have very little doubt it will be,) I shall take my old post again, and do battle as of yore.

I am most happy to be able to announce that a competent and experienced friend of the cause will edit the paper in my absence, so that nothing will be lost to its readers on this score. The principles of Liberty, Jus-



tice and Humanity, which have found expression and advocacy in the paper, will continue to be upheld as firmly as ever. No abatement need be expected in heart or hope.

With every sentiment of regard and grateful friendship, I am

Yours to the end of Slavery,  
FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

[From the Rochester Democrat and American.]

Letter from Frederick Douglass.

CANADA WEST, Oct. 31, 1859.

MR. EDITOR: I notice that the telegraph makes Mr. Cook, (one of the unfortunate insurgents at Harper's Ferry, and now a prisoner in the hands of the thing calling itself the Government of Virginia, but which in fact is but an organized conspiracy by one party of the people, against the other and weaker,) denounces me as a coward—and to assert that I promised to be present in person at the Harper's Ferry Insurrection. This is certainly a very grave impeachment, whether viewed in its bearings upon friends, or upon foes, and you will not think it strange that I should take a somewhat serious notice of it. Having no acquaintance, whatever, with Mr. Cook, and never having exchanged a word with him about the Harper's Ferry insurrection, I am disposed to doubt that he could have used the language concerning me, which the wires attribute to him.—The lightning, when speaking for itself, is among the most direct, reliable and truthful of things; but when speaking for the terror stricken slaveholders at Harper's Ferry, it has been made the swiftest of liars. Under their nimble and trembling fingers, it magnified seventeen men into seven hundred—and has since filled the columns of the New York Herald for days with interminable contradictions. But assuming that it has told only the simple truth, as to the sayings of Mr. Cook in this instance, I have this answer to make to my accuser: Mr. Cook may be perfectly right in denouncing me as a coward. I have not one word to say in defense or vindication of my character for courage. I have always been more distinguished for running than fighting—and tried by the Harper's Ferry insurrection test, I am most miserably deficient in courage—even more so than Cook, when he deserted his brave old captain and fled to the mountains. To this extent, Mr. Cook is entirely right, and will meet no contradiction from me or from anybody else. But wholly, grievously, and most unaccountably wrong is Mr. Cook, when he asserts that I promised to be present in person at the Harper's Ferry insurrection. Of whatever other imprudence and indiscretion I may have been guilty, I have never made a promise so rash and wild as this. The taking of Harper's Ferry was a measure never encouraged by my word or by my vote, at any time or place; my wisdom or my cowardice, has not only kept me from Harper's Ferry, but has equally kept me from making any promise to go there. I desire to be quite emphatic here—for of all guilty men, he is the guiltiest who lures his fellow men to an undertaking of this sort, under promise of assistance, which he afterwards fails to render. I therefore declare that there is no man living, and no man dead, who if living, could truthfully say that I ever promised him or anybody else, either conditionally or otherwise, that I would be present in person at the Harper's Ferry insurrection. My field of labor for the abolition of Slavery has not extended to an attack upon the United States arsenal. In the teeth of the documents already published, and of those which may hereafter be published, I affirm that no man connected with that insurrection, from its noble and heroic leader down, can connect my name with a single broken promise of any sort whatever. So much I deem it proper to say negatively.

The time for a full statement of what I know, and of all I know, of this desperate but sublimely disinterested effort to emancipate the slaves of Maryland and Virginia, from their cruel task masters, has not yet come, and may never come. In the denial which I have now made, my motive is more a respectful consideration for the opinions of

the slave's friends, than from my fear of being made an accomplice in the general conspiracy against Slavery. I am ever ready to write, speak, publish, organize, combine, and even to conspire against Slavery, when there is a reasonable hope for success. Men who live by robbing their fellow men of their labor and liberty, have forfeited their right to know any thing of the thoughts, feelings or purposes of those whom they rob and plunder. They have by the single act of slaveholding, voluntarily placed themselves beyond the laws of justice and honor, and have become only fitted for companionship with thieves and pirates—the common enemies of God and of all mankind. While it shall be considered right to protect oneself against thieves, burglars, robbers and assassins, and to slay a wild beast in the act of devouring his human prey, it can never be wrong for the imbruted and whip-scarred slaves, or their friends, to hunt, harass and even strike down the traffickers in human flesh.—If any body is disposed to think less of me on account of this sentiment; or because I may have had a knowledge of what was about to occur, and did not assume the base and detestable character of an informer, he is a man whose good or bad opinion of me may be equally repugnant and despicable. Entertaining this sentiment, I may be asked, why I did not join John Brown—the noble old hero whose one right hand has shaken the foundation of the American Union, and whose ghost will haunt the bed-chambers of all the born and unborn Slaveholders of Virginia through all their generations, filling them with alarm and consternation! My answer to this has already been given, at least impliedly given. "The tools to those that can use them." Let every man work for the abolition of Slavery in his own way. I would help all, and hinder none. My position in regard to the Harper's Ferry Insurrection, may be easily inferred from these remarks, and I shall be glad if those papers which have spoken of me in connection with it, would find room for this brief statement.

I have no apology for keeping out of the way of those gentlemanly United States Marshals, who are said to have paid Rochester a somewhat protracted visit lately, with a view to an interview with me. A government recognizing the validity of the *Dred Scott* decision, at such a time as this, is not likely to have any very charitable feelings towards me; and if I am to meet its representatives, I prefer to do so, at least, upon equal terms. If I have committed any offense against Society, I have done so on the soil of the State of New York, and I should be perfectly willing there to be arraigned before an impartial jury; but I have quite insuperable objections to being caught by the hands of Mr. BUCHANAN, and "bagged" by Gov. WISE. For this appears to be the arrangement.—BUCHANAN does the fighting and hunting, and WISE "bags" the game.

Some reflections may be made upon my leaving on a tour to England, just at this time. I have only to say, that my going to that country has been rather delayed than hastened, by the insurrection at Harper's Ferry. All knew that I had intended to leave here in the first week of November.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

U. G. R.—We learn from 'official quarters' that the Underground Railroad, a big branch of which runs through this city up to the Canada frontier, has been doing an unusually large business this year. Some days the 'train' takes a dozen at a time, and the aggregate business of the year is counted by hundreds. One gentleman, who is ranked among the high-toned conservative democrats—a sustainer of the Fugitive Slave Law, the Nebraska Bill, and the Pierce and Buchanan Administrations, on principle—is regularly called on for his subscription when funds are needed. His sober and invariable reply is this: 'Give money to help a fugitive slave escape? not a cent; it's illegal, and against the compromises of the Constitution; send him back to Virginia! send him back—and here's a V to help pay the expenses of returning him back to his master!—*Troy Arena*.

## The Insurrection in Virginia!

From different Pro-Slavery Papers.

### The Beginning.

John Brown, who was a prominent actor in the Kansas troubles, and whose son was murdered by the Pro-slavery party, has made an insurrectionary movement at Harper's Ferry, Va. Having bought a farm some time ago in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry, he proceeded to arrange the details of a plot which was to extinguish Slavery in Maryland and Virginia, and to revolutionize the Government of the United States. John C. Cook, a young man who had become associated with him in Kansas, became a participant in this new enterprise. A general uprising of the negroes, free and enslaved, throughout the South, seems to have been counted upon as the immediate result of the pronouncement; and to arm them, as they flocked in, the arms and munitions of the Harper's Ferry Arsenal were provided. Such was the plot.

Aided by some nineteen whites, and a considerable number of negroes, whom they pressed into the service, Brown obtained possession of the United States Arsenal, and seized all the arms and ammunition belonging to the Government. The whole town, in fact, was at one time entirely at his mercy. Various acts of violence were perpetrated, and it is difficult to tell to what length the insurgents might not have gone, had they not been forced at length by superior numbers and military intelligence to succumb. As it was, the defence made by them when attacked by the military was desperate. Brown and his men were finally, after considerable skirmishing by military companies from surrounding towns and a party of United States marines, driven into the Arsenal building, where they were besieged and conquered. Among those killed among the insurgents were two sons of the leader. Brown himself was desperately wounded, but there is a possibility of his recovery. The insurrection may now, doubtless be considered at an end.

### Names of the Insurrectionists.

The names of all the insurrectionists, except three white men, whom Brown admits he sent away on an errand, are as follows, with their proper titles under the Provisional Government:

#### WHITES:

General John Brown, Commander-in-Chief, wounded, but will recover.  
Capt. Oliver Brown, dead.  
Capt. Watson Brown, dead.  
Captain Aaron C. Stephens, of Connecticut, wounded. He has three balls and cannot possibly recover.  
Lieut. Edwin Coppie, of Iowa, unhurt.  
Lieut. Albert Hazlett, of Pa., dead.  
Lieut. Wm. Leman, of Maine, dead.  
Capt. John E. Cook, of Conn., escaped.

#### PRIVATES:

Stewart Taylor, of Canada, dead.  
Chas. P. Tidd, of Maine, dead.  
Wm. Thompson, of New York, dead.  
Adolph Thompson, of New York, dead.  
Capt. John Kagi, of Ohio, raised in Va., dead.  
Lieut. Jeremiah Anderson, of Indiana, dead.  
With the three whites previously sent off, making seventeen whites.

#### NEGROES:

Daingerfield, newly of Ohio, raised in Virginia, dead.  
Shield Emperor, of Rochester, N. Y., raised in South Carolina, not wounded, but a prisoner. The latter was elected a member of the Provisional Government some time since.  
Lewis Leary, of Ohio, raised in Va., dead.  
Copeand, of Ohio, raised in Va., not wounded, but a prisoner.

Gen. Brown has nine wounds, but none fatal. Bushels of letters have been discovered from all parts of the country; one from Gerrit Smith informs Brown of money being deposited in a bank in New York to the credit of G. Smith & Sons. It appears to be one of many, informing him from time to time as money was received.

### Form of Commission.

The commission taken from Capt. Anderson's pocket reads as follows:

[Number seven.] GREETING.



in pursuance of the authority vested in us by said Constitution, we do hereby appoint and commission the said Jere G. Anderson a Captain.

Given at the office of the Secretary of War, this day, Oct. 15, 1859. JOHN BROWN, Commander-in-Chief

H. KAGI, Secretary of War.

#### Incendiary Letters.

Among the proofs of complicity on the part of Northern men with the insurrection at Harper's Ferry, the Washington and Baltimore journals gravely parade the following letters:

LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO, June 4th, 1859.

Captain John Brown—My Dear Friend: I wrote you a week ago, directing my letter to the care of Mr. Kearney.

He replied, informing me that he had forwarded it to Washington. But as Mr. Morton received last night a letter from Mr. Sanborn, saying your address would be your son's home, viz: West Andover, I therefore write you without delay, and direct your letter to your son. I have done what I could thus far for Kansas, and what I could to keep you at your Kansas work. Losses by endorsement and otherwise have brought me under heavy embarrassments the last two years.

But I must nevertheless continue to do, in order to keep you at your Kansas work. I send you herewith my draft for two hundred dollars. Let me hear from you on the receipt of this letter.

You live in our hearts, and our prayer to God is that you may have strength to continue in your Kansas work.

My wife joins me in affectionate regard to you, dear John, whom we both hold in very high esteem.

I suppose you put the Whitman note into Mr. Kearney's hands. It will be a great shame if Mr. Whitman does not pay it.

What a noble man is Mr. Kearney. How liberally he has contributed to keep you in your Kansas work. Your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

LETTER FROM CHARLES BLAIR.

COLLINSVILLE, Conn., June 10, 1859.

FRIEND BROWN: Your favor of the 7th inst., was duly received with the draft on New York for \$300. I have made arrangements to have the goods finished up as soon as possible. The only man I could think of in this vicinity, who is in a situation to do it, I have agreed with. But he would not agree to get them all out in less time than eight weeks. Perhaps he can finish up one-half the number soon, if you desire it. But he has positively agreed to have them all out in eight weeks. I find that some of the handles have come up missing, and I shall not be able to make out more than about 950. Considering the delay and the extra trouble I am at, I think you will be satisfied with that number. I could have furnished them when I had them under way for much less than I can now.—Wishing you peace and prosperity, I remain yours, truly,

CHARLES BLAIR.

There was also found the following receipt

Received, Collinsville, June 4, 1859, of John Brown, on contract of 1857, one hundred and fifty dollars.

CHARLES BLAIR.

LETTER FROM FRED. DOUGLASS.

MY DEAR CAPTAIN BROWN: I am very busy at home. Will you please come up with my son Fred. and take a mouthful with me? In haste, yours, truly, FRED. DOUGLASS. December 7.

#### District-Attorney Ould's Report.

The following is District-Attorney Ould's dispatch to the President:

HARPER'S FERRY, Oct. 18, 1859.

To his Excellency the President of the United States:

Everything is quiet. There are only five

marines was mortally wounded within it. I have seen Col. Lee, but not Gov. Wise. Only nineteen persons were engaged in the matter, of whom five were free negroes from the North. Brown has been living a few miles from here, in Maryland, since June last. His premises were searched to-day, and fifteen hundred pikes and two hundred guns found, beside flints, axes, blankets, clothing, &c., in abundance. Brown says he has contemplated this movement since 1856. All of his party are either killed or captured except one, who left on Monday. They were driven by the Virginians into the armory, and there Col. Lee and twelve marines did the balance. All the slaves engaged, if any, were forced. None of the persons held by Brown were hurt, although all were in the building stormed by the marines. The books and papers of Brown are secured, which throw considerable light on the movement. Strange it is, but true, that Brown and his eighteen men took possession of the Government property and town, and held them during Sunday night and Monday. The Government money is all safe. It is not known which party killed the marine. The man who carried off Lewis Washington is one of the wounded prisoners. I do not apprehend any violence to the prisoners.

ROBERT OULD.

#### Gov. Wise's Speech.

BALTIMORE, Saturday, Oct. 22, 1859.

Gov. Wise's Richmond speech says he has a bushel of Brown's correspondence, but not all of it, for a carpet-bag full of it was taken to Baltimore and improperly used. The letters in his possession proved that prominent men at the North were implicated in the affair.—Whether our sister States at the North will allow men to remain among them unrebuked or unpunished, remains to be seen. 'If any one should smuggle off Gerrit Smith some night, and bring him to me, I would read him a moral lecture, and then send him home.'—He had remained at Harper's Ferry to prevent lynch law in Virginia. There was no questions of jurisdiction to be settled; as he had made up his mind fully; and after determining that the prisoners should be tried in Virginia, he would not have obeyed an order to the contrary from the President of the United States. He was ready to weep when he heard that the outlaws comprised only twelve men, and that they had taken the town in ten minutes. There was no cowardice on the part of the people there, because their unguarded citizens were prisoners; but he told them that they had made a mistake, and that if Gen. Washington had been a prisoner, and his life imperiled by an attack, he would have risked his own and others as well, in making an attack without delay. This Kansas Border-Ruffian made a great mistake as to the disposition of the slaves to fly to his standard; the Abolitionists cannot comprehend that they are held among us as by a patriarchal tenure. The Governor urged the importance of the organization of the military throughout the State, and the exercise of vigilance to guard against the disgrace of a similar surprise.

#### Population of the Disturbed District.

The district of country intended to be effected by the outbreak contains a large slave population. The following was the relative population at the last census:

	Whites.	Slaves.
Loudoun County, Va. ....	16,438	5,641
Jefferson " .....	11,016	4,341
Berkeley " .....	9,815	1,956
Frederick " .....	13,681	2,294
- Total .....	50,950	14,232
Frederick County, Md. ....	37,034	3,913
Washington County .....	28,754	2,090
Total .....	66,788	6,003

From this it appears that within twenty miles of Harper's Ferry there are not less than 20,000 slaves, of whom probably 6,000 are men.

has been made:—

CINCINNATI, Aug. 20, 1859.

SIR—I have lately received information of a movement of so great importance that I feel it to be my duty to impart it to you without delay. I have discovered the existence of a select association having for its object the liberation of the slaves at the South by a general insurrection. The leader of the movement is Old John Brown, late of Kansas. He has been in Canada during the winter, drilling the negroes there, and they are only waiting his word to start for the South to assist the slaves. They have one of their leading men, a white man, in an armory in Maryland; where it is situated I have not been able to learn. As soon as everything is ready, those of their number who are in the Northern States and Canada are to come in small companies to the rendezvous, which is in the mountains of Virginia. They will pass down through Pennsylvania and Maryland, and enter Virginia at Harper's Ferry. Brown left the North about three or four weeks ago, and will arm the negroes and strike the blow in a few weeks, so that whatever is done must be done at once. They have a large quantity of arms at their rendezvous, and probably distributing them already. As I am not fully in their confidence, this is all the information I can give you. I dare not sign my name to this, but trust that you will not disregard the warning on that account.

#### Redpath's Notes on the Insurrection.

James Redpath, writing in the *Boston Atlas and Bee*, says:

John Brown is not a communicative man. There are numerous reports of his talks in the telegraphic bulletins, which I can pronounce, from my own knowledge of his character, as from other circumstances, to be total and malignant fabrications. That they contradict each other, is the least certain, although an absolutely conclusive proof of their political origin. For old Brown never lies. Not to save his life, nor even to liberate the slaves, could the grand old man be induced to tell a falsehood. When Mr. Mills, 'Master of the Armory,' therefore, reported that Brown said that he had 'arms and ammunition enough furnished by the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society,' Mr. Mills, the Master of the Armory, uttered a deliberate and willful falsehood.—The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society has never owned a solitary rifle, nor a pistol, nor pound of ammunition, nor even a pike! They never, therefore, sent any arms to Virginia, nor to Kansas either; now, nor at any other time.

Even the telegraph, lying as it does, is forced to contradict the Master of the Armory, on Brown's authority, on this important point. Read:

'Reporter—Where did you get all your rifles and pikes which are here? Who furnished you with them?'

'Brown—My own money. I did not receive aid from any man.'

GERRIT SMITH'S LETTER.

This reply in an apparent contradiction to the evidence sought to be established by the publication of a letter from Gerrit Smith.—There is no manner of evidence in it that Mr. Smith is implicated in this insurrection. It is dated June 4. It gives money to the 'Kansas work.' What was that work? It is clearly enough stated in the letter of Old Brown, in which he drew his celebrated 'parallels.' He went into the house of bondage in Missouri and restored to their birth-rights twelve human beings. The Southern and Democratic presses howled, long and loudly, at the righteous act. A few months before, a gang of murderers, from Missouri, crossed the Kansas line, and perpetrated the odious massacre of the Marais des Cygnes. The Southern and Democratic presses laughed in derision, or attempted to gloss over the infernal act.

This was the parallel he drew. He was at that time supposed to have enlisted for life



in the work of liberating the slaves. He stated so himself to every one with whom he spoke on the subject; and said he was willing to accept money to advance the cause of freedom—but on the condition that donations thus given should be placed absolutely and without directions at his own disposal, to be employed as he saw fit. He did not proclaim his intentions of inciting an insurrection to every one. No man ever lived, more prudent than he; I assert this fact boldly in spite of the seeming insanity of his recent attempt at Harper's Ferry. We have only heard one side of that story thus far; when we shall have heard the other and know why the rebellion broke out so suddenly and fatally, we will see, I have no manner of doubt, that Brown's common sense did not desert him in that unfortunate affair. It is an unforeseen accident that frequently decides the fate of battles and conspiracies. Brown undoubtedly was betrayed, or in danger of arrest, and was compelled to precipitate the seizure of the Armory.

Gerrit Smith, I have no doubt—although I do not know—gives his money to liberate the slaves by the agency of underground railroads. What decent man would not?

I know that Gerrit Smith disapproves of insurrections. When Mr. A. B. Burdick, of New York, last spring, published a book of mine, called 'The Roving Editor; or Talks with Slaves in the Southern States,' (which I dedicated to John Brown, and in which I clearly foretold his intentions,) Mr. Smith wrote to him, that he was glad that I had inscribed the volume to the Captain, who was 'an old and valued friend,' but that my book, although 'not too bold' was 'too bloody' to suit him. He wrote to me that he had long feared that Slavery would end in blood, but he could not contemplate so terrible a result with complacency. My reply to him, concluded with all the respect I feel for his noble life, was somewhat to this effect: That I thought any result, no matter how sanguinary in its progress, was infinitely preferable to the death sleep of Slavery, and the foul stain on the nation's escutcheon, which its continuance made.

If, however, Gerrit Smith repented of his views, and was converted to my creed, I have no hesitation in declaring that he will boldly avow it. He is neither a coward nor a politician, that he should seek to conceal his opinions.

#### THE ANONYMOUS LETTER.

It is supposed—it would not be prudent to say why, nor by whom—that the author of the anonymous letter to Secretary Floyd, is a person of the name of Babb, a subordinate editor of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, sometimes (from his stature) known as Baby Babb, and (from his mental characteristics) as Booby Babb. He was in Kansas for several months and is supposed to have heard of Old Brown's designs. If he is guiltless of the authorship of this letter, it will do him no future ill to give it a prompt and emphatic denial. Brown has fearless and desperate friends, who will—as surely as he dies the death of an unsuccessful hero—revenge his untimely end on the authors of it.

From the graves of Barber and the Browns, and from the bloody valley of the Marias des Cygnes, a terrible spirit arose which the South conjured up in its 'insane attempts,' but which it can never again allay, excepting by the liberation of every slave from the Panhandle of Virginia to the most southern limit of the Texan frontier.

#### OUR EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT.

But this anonymous letter, it is said, is not the first intimation that 'our efficient Executive' has received of the designs of the insurrectionists. I was informed that they were betrayed by an eminent military author more than twelve months ago. His name I cannot now recall. He was a wealthy Englishman, and resided in Italy in 1849.

warfare—which was reprinted by DeWitt & Davenport of New York. He was the instructor, in military science, of Brown and his men. Domestic bereavements, I believe, added to alarming pecuniary losses, suddenly rendered him insane. He went to Washington and betrayed the scheme. Brown and his men were forced to fly to Canada. The excursions in Kansas, which Brown subsequently made, were intended to increase the belief of the Government that the exposure was the result of the wild imaginations of a madman.

Let the Democratic papers praise the exceeding efficiency of their Executive now.

#### What Some of our Exchanges Say.

From the N. Y. Independent.

That the slaves of the South, whenever they shall have the intelligence to plan and the skill and strength and courage to achieve a revolution for their own emancipation, would be justified in this, no Virginian can deny, who respects the memory of Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, on the broad seal of his own State. Deprived of those 'inalienable rights' to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' with which 'all men are endowed by their Creator,' subjected to every cruelty of oppression, would it be strange if some bold, earnest spirit among them should catch the lingering echo of Patrick Henry's voice, crying, 'Give me liberty, or give me death,' and should teach Virginia the meaning of her own motto, 'Sic semper Tyrannis?' The slaves at the South have the same right to assert their freedom against their masters, whenever their strength and resources shall give them a reasonable hope of success, which the Greeks had to assert their liberties against Turkey, or the Italians now have against Austria. The American who would deny this, had better first burn the Declaration of Independence.—If ever that day shall come, as come it will whenever the Union is dissolved, woe to the cherished institutions and the boasted power of the South. \* \* \* But what a system is that which provokes such horrors, and gives such occasion for bloody insurrection!—Where are now the Arcadian pictures of Southern plantations? Where the attractions of this patriarchal state? 'Blood will have blood,' and the crimes of Southern slaveholders will yet work out a fearful retribution upon their own heads. Are not they the true friends of the South who are seeking the peaceable abolition of slavery at the earliest day?

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

Mad as the act was, and deplorable as the consequences of it might have been, it proceeded from the same atrocious principles which dictate Kansas forays, Central American filibusterism, and Cuban invasions. We defy the champions of these schemes to show the least difference in the several cases. We call upon them to allege a single reason in justification of their measures, which Brown might not with equal propriety allege in behalf of his. If he is an incendiary, so are they; if his plot was diabolical, so were their plots; and the more atrocious they make his conduct appear, the more they expose the atrocity of their own conduct. Brown, moreover, has had the excuse of his personal grievances for his crimes; he has been stung into a fierce and unreflecting rancor by his wrongs; whereas the abettors of Atchison and Walker projected their outrages and piracies in cold blood, and with the most selfish purposes. Brown's error was on the side of freedom—theirs on the side of slavery.

From the Albany Evening Journal.

Servile insurrections are not the fruits of political controversies in regard to slavery extension. Such insurrections are the inevitable accompaniments of the institution of slavery itself. They occur wherever it exists. Long before the Republican party was organized—long before the slavery question

those who warn him of his danger that are to blame for its eruptions.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

There will be enough to heap execration on the memory of these mistaken men. We leave this work to the fit hands and tongues of those who regard the fundamental axioms of the Declaration of Independence as 'glittering generalities.' Believing that the way to Universal Emancipation lies not through insurrection, civil war and bloodshed, but through peace, discussion, and the quiet diffusion of sentiments of humanity and justice, we deeply regret this outbreak; but, remembering that, if their fault was grievous, grievously have they answered it, we will not by one reproachful word, disturb the bloody shrouds wherein John Brown and his compatriots are sleeping. They dared and died for what they felt to be right, though in a manner which seems to us fatally wrong. Let their epitaphs remain unwritten until the not distant day when no slave shall clank his chains in the shades of Monticello or by the graves of Mount Vernon.

#### Conversation with the Noble Old Hero.

The reporter of the *Baltimore American* gives the following lengthened account of a conversation with the brave Capt. Brown, in which Senator Mason of Virginia, Ex Member of Congress Faulkner, of Charlestown, Va., and Hon. Mr. Vallandigham, of Ohio, took part—prefacing his report with the following sketch of the prisoners:

After some little delay we were introduced in the room where Brown and Stephens lay. We found the former to be a six footer, although as he lay he had the appearance of being some six inches shorter than that. He has a rather peculiar shaped head, long gray hair, which at this time was matted, the sabre cut in his head having caused blood to flow freely, to the complete disfigurement of his face, which, like his hands, was begrimed with dirt, evidently the result of continued exposure to the smoke of powder. His eyes are of a pale blue, or perhaps a sharp gray—much such an eye as I remember his brother filibuster, Walker, to have. During his conversation, hereafter reported, no sign of weakness was exhibited. In the midst of enemies, whose home he had invaded; wounded and a prisoner, surrounded by a small army of officials, and a more desperate army of angry men; with the gallows staring him full in the face, he lay on the floor, and, in reply to every question, gave answers that betokened the spirit that animated him. The language of Gov. Wise well expresses his boldness when he said, "He is the gamest man I ever saw." I believe the worthy Executive had hardly expected to see a man so act in such a trying moment.

Stephens is a fine looking specimen of the *genus-homo*. He is the only one of the lot that I have seen, excepting, of course, the negroes, who had not light hair. His hair and long beard are of a fine black; his face partakes of the handsome and noble; his eye, though restless has a sharp brilliancy; and he, too, is a six-footer. A stout, strong man, whose condition, lying upon the floor, obedient to the last to the commands of "my captain," as he called him; wounded with three or four gun-shot wounds, two in the head and one in the breast; certain of death, I could not but pity. Several hearts grew sad at the recollection of his wife, far away; probably unaware of his sad situation, looking and longing for his return. He, too, showed a marvelous courage. Ever and anon groaning with excessive pain he did not, however, forget himself for one instant, but calmly, although in such pain, listened to the conversation as it progressed, on at least one occasion, correcting a remark of Brown's.



must arise a feeling of respect for them in their bold rashness.

## THE CONVERSATION.

Senator Mason—How do you justify your acts?

Brown—I think, my friend, you are guilty of a great wrong against God and humanity. I say that without wishing to be offensive. It would be perfectly right for any one to interfere with you so far as to free those you willfully and wickedly hold in bonds. I do not say this insultingly.

Mr. Mason—I understand that.

Brown—I think I did right, and that others will do right who interfere with you at any time and all times. I hold that the golden rule: Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you, applies to all who would help others to gain their liberty.

Lieutenant Stuart—But you don't believe in the Bible.

Brown—Certainly I do.

Mr. Vallandigham—Where did your men come from; did some of them come from Ohio?

Brown—Some of them.

Mr. V.—From the Western Reserve—of course none came from Southern Ohio?

B.—Oh, yes; I believe one came from below Steubenville, down not far from Wheeling.

Mr. V.—Have you been in Ohio this summer?

B.—Yes, sir.

Mr. V.—How late?

B.—I passed through to Pittsburgh on my way here in June.

Mr. V.—Were you at any County or State Fairs then?

B.—I was not there since June.

Mr. Mason—Did you consider this a military organization on this paper?—showing a copy of the so-called constitution and ordinances—I have not yet read it.

B.—I did in some measure. I wish you would give that paper your close attention.

Mr. M.—You consider yourself the Commander-in-chief of this provisional military force?

B.—I was chosen agreeably to the ordinance of a certain document, Commander-in-chief of that force.

Mr. M.—What wages did you offer?

B.—None.

Lieut. Stuart—The wages of sin is death.

B.—I would not have made such a remark to you if you had been a prisoner, and wounded, in my hands.

A Bystander—Did you not promise a negro in Gettysburg \$20 a month?

B.—I did not.

Bystander.—He says you did.

Mr. V.—Were you ever in Dayton?

B.—Yes, I must have been.

Mr. V.—This summer?

B.—No—a year or two since.

Mr. Mason—Does this talking annoy you at all?

B.—Not in the least.

Mr. V.—Have you lived long in Ohio?

Brown—I went there in 1805; I lived in Summit county, which was then Trumbull county; my native place is York State.

Mr. V.—Do you recollect a man in Ohio, named Brown, a noted counterfeiter?

B.—I do; knew him from a boy; his father was Henry Brown, of Irish or Scotch descent: the family was very low.

Mr. V.—Have you ever been in Portage county?

B.—I was there in June last.

Mr. V.—When in Cleveland, did you attend the Fugitive Slave Law Convention?

B.—No; I was there about the time of the sitting of the Court to try the Oberlin rescuers; I spoke there publicly on that subject; I spoke on the Fugitive Slave Law, and my own rescue, of course; so far as I had any reference at all, I was disposed to justify the Oberlin people for rescuing a slave, because I have myself forcibly taken slaves from bondage: I was concerned in taking eleven slaves from Missouri to Canada last winter; I think I spoke in Cleveland before the Convention; do not know that I had any conversation,

with any of the Oberlin rescuers; was sick part of the time I was in Ohio; had the ague; was part of the time in Ashtabula county.

Mr. V.—Did you see anything of Joshua R. Giddings there?

B.—I did meet him.

Mr. V.—Did you consult him?

B.—If I did, I would not tell you, of course, anything that would implicate Mr. Giddings, but I certainly saw him and had a conversation with him.

Mr. V.—About that rescue case?

B.—Yes, I did hear him express his opinion on it very freely and frankly.

Mr. V.—Justifying it?

B.—Yes sir; I do not compromise him in saying that.

A Bystander.—Did you go out to Kansas under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Society?

B.—No sir; I went under the auspices of old John Brown, and nobody else.

Mr. V.—Will you answer this? Did you talk with Giddings about the expedition here?

B.—No sir, I won't answer that, because a denial of it I would not make, and to make an affirmation of it I should be a great dunce.

Mr. V.—Have you had any correspondence with parties at the North on the subject of this movement?

B.—I have had correspondence.

Bystander.—Do you consider it a religious movement?

B.—It is in my opinion the greatest service a man can render to God.

Bystander.—Do you consider yourself an instrument in the hands of Providence?

B.—I do.

Bystander.—Upon what principle do you justify your acts?

B.—By the golden rule. I pity the poor in bondage. That is why I am here. It is not to gratify any animosity, or feeling of revenge or of a vindictive spirit. It is my sympathy with the oppressed and wronged that are as good as you and as precious in the sight of God.

Bystander.—Certainly, but why take the slaves against their will?

B.—Warmly—I never did.

Bystander.—You did in one instance, at least.

Stephens, to the inquirer, interrupted Brown,—you are right, sir, in one case. (A groan from the wounded man.) In one case I know the negro wanted to go back.

To Brown—Captain, the gentleman is right.

Bystander, to Stephens—Where did you come from?

S.—I live in Ashtabula county, Ohio.

Mr. V.—How recently did you leave Ashtabula county?

S.—Some months ago. I never resided there any length of time. I have often been through there.

V.—How far did you live from Jefferson?

B. to Stevens—Be very cautious, Stevens, about answering that, it might commit some friend. I would not answer it at all.

Stephens who had been groaning considerably, although the exertion necessary to conversation seriously affected him, seemed content to abide by 'my Captain's' decision. He turned over and was silent.

Mr. V. to Brown—Who were your advisers in this movement?

B.—I have numerous sympathisers throughout the entire North.

Mr. V.—In Northern Ohio?

B.—No; no more there than anywhere else in all the Free States.

Mr. V.—But you are not personally acquainted in Southern Ohio?

B.—Not very much.

Mr. V.—Were you at the convention last June?

B.—I was; I want you to understand, gentlemen, that I respect the right of the poorest and weakest of the colored people oppressed by the slave system, just as much as I do those of the most wealthy and powerful; that is the idea that has moved me, and that alone. We expected no reward. We expected the satisfaction of endeavoring to do for

them in distress—the greatly oppressed—as we would be done by. The cry of distress, and of the distressed, is my reason, and the only one that impelled me.

Bystander—Why did you do it secretly?

B.—Because I thought it necessary to success. For no other reason.

Bystander—You think that honorable, do you? Have you read Gerrit Smith's last letter?

B.—What letter do you mean?

Bystander—The New York Herald of yesterday in speaking of this affair mentions a letter in which he says, that it is folly to attempt to strike the shackles off the slaves by the force of moral suasion or legal agitation, and predicts that the next movement made in the direction of negro emancipation will be an insurrection in the South.

B.—I have not seen a New York Herald for some days past, but I presume from your remarks about the gist of the letter I should concur with it. I agree with Mr. Smith that moral suasion is hopeless. I don't think the people of the Slave States will ever consider the subject of Slavery in its true light, until some other argument is resorted to than moral suasion.

Mr. V.—Did you expect a general rising of the slaves, in case of your success?

B.—No, sir, nor did I wish it; I expected to gather strength from time to time, then I could set them free.

Mr. V.—Did you expect to hold possession here until then?

B.—Well! Probably I had quite a different idea; I do not know that I ought to reveal my plans; I am here a prisoner, and wounded, because I foolishly allowed myself to be so. You overrate your strength, when you suppose that I could have been taken, if I had not allowed it. I was too tardy, after commencing the open attack, in delaying my movements through Monday night, and, up to the time I was attacked by the Government troops. It was all occasioned by my desire to spare the feelings of my prisoners and their families, and of the community.

Mr. V.—Did you not shoot a negro on the bridge, or did some of your party?

B.—I knew nothing of the shooting of the negro Heywood.

Mr. V.—What time did you commence your organization over in Canada?

B.—It occurred about ten years ago. If I remember right, it was, I think, in 1849.

Mr. V.—Who was the Secretary?

B.—That I would not tell if I recollected, but I do not remember. I think the officers were elected in May, 1858. I may answer incorrectly, but not intentionally. My head is a little confused by wounds, and my memory of dates and such like is somewhat confused.

Dr. Biggs—Were you in the party at Mr. Kennedy's house?

B.—I was the head of that party. I occupied the house to mature my plans. I would state here that I have not been in Baltimore to purchase percussion caps.

Dr. Biggs—What was the number of men at Kennedy's?

B.—I decline to answer that question.

Dr. B.—Who lanced the woman's neck, on the hill?

B.—I did. I have sometimes practiced in surgery when I thought it a matter of humanity or necessity, when there was no one else to do it; but I have not studied surgery.

Dr. B. (to the persons around)—It was done very well, scientifically. These men have been very clever to the neighbors, I have been told, and we have no occasion to suspect them, except that we could not understand their movements. They were represented as eight or nine persons, on Friday.

B.—There were more.

Thirteen questions were now put in by almost everybody in the room, as follows:

Where did you get arms?

B.—I bought them.

In what State?

That he would not tell.

How many guns?

B.—Two hundred Sharpe's rifles and two



hundred revolvers, what is call the Massachusetts arms—Companies' revolvers, a little under the Navy size.

Why did you not take that swivel you left in the house?

B.—I had no occasion for it. It was given to me a year or two ago.

In Kansas?

B.—No. I had nothing given to me in Kansas.

By whom, and in what State?

B.—I decline to answer that. It is not properly a swivel—it is a very large rifle on a pivot. The ball is larger than a musket ball. It is intended for a slug.

Brown here made a statement intended for the reporters as follows:

If you do not want to converse any more, I will remark to those reporting gentlemen that I claim to be here in carrying out a measure I believe to be perfectly justifiable, and not to act a part at all incendiary or ruffianly; but on the contrary, to aid those suffering under a great wrong. I wish to say, furthermore, that now all you people of the South had better prepare yourselves for a settlement of this question. It must come up for settlement sooner than you are prepared for it; and the sooner you commence that preparation, the better for you. You may dispose of me very easy—I am nearly disposed of now—but this question, I mean the end of it, is not yet. These wounds were inflicted upon me—both the sabre cuts on my head and body, and the bayonet stabs in different parts of my body—some minutes after I had ceased fighting, and consented to surrender for the benefit of others, and not for my own benefit. Several persons present denied this statement.

I believe the Major, pointing to Stewart, would not have been alive but for me. I might have killed him just as easy as I could kill a musquito, when he came in, but I supposed he came only to receive our surrender. There had been long and loud calls of surrender from us—as loud as men could yell, but, in the confusion and excitement, I suppose we were not heard. I do not believe the Major or any one else wanted to butcher us after we had surrendered.

An officer present here stated that specific orders had been given to the Marines not to shoot anybody, but when they were fired upon by Brown's men, and one of them had been killed and another wounded, they were obliged to return the compliment. Brown insisted, with some warmth, that the Marines fired first.

An Officer—Why did you not surrender before the attack?

B.—I did not think it was my duty or interest to do so. We assured our prisoners that we did not wish to harm them, and that they should be set at liberty. I exercised my best judgment, not believing the people would wantonly sacrifice their own fellow citizens.—When we offered to let them go upon condition of being allowed to change our position about a quarter of a mile, the prisoners agreed by a vote among themselves to pass across the bridge with us. We wanted them only as a sort of guarantee for our own safety, that we should not be fired into. We took them in the first place, as hostages, to keep them from doing any harm. We did kill some when defending ourselves, but I saw no one fire, except directly in self-defense. Orders were strict not to harm any one not in arms against us.

Brown, suppose you had any negroes in the Free States what would you do with them?

Brown, in a loud tone and with emphasis—Set them free, sir.

Your intention was to carry them off and free them?

Brown—Not at all.

Bystander—To set them free would sacrifice the life of every man in the community.

Brown—I do not think so.

Bystander—I know that. I think you are fanatical.

Brown—And I think you are fanatical:—Whom the God's would destroy, they first

mak mad.

Was your only object to free the negroes?

Brown—Absolutely, our only object.

Bystander—But you went and took Col. Washington's silver and watch.

Brown—Oh, yes; we intended freely to have appropriated the property of slaveholders to carry out our object. It was for that, and only that. We had no desire to enrich ourselves with any plunder whatever.

Bystander—Did you know Sherod in Kansas? I understand you killed him.

B.—I killed no man, except in a fair fight. I fought at Black Jack and Ossawatimie, and if I killed anybody, it was at one of those places.

#### BEECHER ON THE HARPER'S FERRY OUTBREAK.

On Sunday evening last, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher preached in his own church, Orange street, Brooklyn, to a very thronged congregation. He took for his text the sixth chapter of Jeremiah, from the twelfth to the nineteenth verses inclusive:—For I will stretch out mine hand upon the inhabitants of the land saith the Lord God, &c. The *Herald* contains the following relating to the outbreak at Harper's Ferry:

I avail myself of the present state of our land to utter some sentiments on the subject of slavery, though I have not done so for a considerable time. The nation is now greatly excited, and deeply concerned about the recent sudden and unexpected attack at Harper's Ferry. Seventeen white men, without organization, without a military basis of operations, without the countenance or approval of any legal or deliberative body, most unexpectedly and openly attack an entire State to release and rescue an enslaved race. They were not called upon by the sufferers, nor expected even by them. They undertake all themselves. Yes, those seventeen white men summoned two thousand people to surrender to them and they did as they were required; and these seventeen men held them all in durance for two full days. They waited until the force of two States were mustered to release them. I do not wonder that the Virginians feel humiliated. Every one feels for them.—No one doubts the bravery of the Virginians—not at all. (Laughter.) But people may be sometimes surprised and taken unawares.—However this may be, it seems to us strange that this invasion of seventeen men should have caused so much alarm, so much confusion and noise. It is no wonder the Virginians try to make the most of it. They feel ashamed of the facts, and every one is sympathizing with them. There was full enough of the matter, and I think we shan't have any more of it, or anything like it. There is something in the matter which cannot be got over, in the fact that seventeen men held two thousand people prisoners for two days. They cannot hide the significance of this single fact, do what they will. It cannot be concealed.—These seventeen men invade a State, seized upon the government armory, and held two thousand of the inhabitants of that State prisoners for two days, till two sons had risen and descended on their actions. The Virginians feel piqued to be sure, but they only remind us of the story of the fox which got his tail cut off in a trap and then endeavored to get the foxes to get theirs cut off in a like manner, but none of them would do it. There is something, there must be something, underlying all this which caused 2,000 Virginians to submit to the power of seventeen men till the forces of two whole States should be brought against them—till volunteers should assemble from every portion of these two States—till the United States forces should arrive at the scene with their artillery—till the whole South should be excited and alarmed, and till the North should wonder and sympathize. I will not say any more about this riot. There was one who figured through out it, however, to which some allusion should be made. An old, honest, industrious man

peacefully went to settle with his family in the West. His lot was cast in Kansas. A great slave State adjoining the Territory marches her armed men in among the peaceful settlers, to dragoon them to uphold slavery by force of arms. They cross the boundary and subvert the laws, the order, and commence a civil war. They pollute the ballot box, and carry destruction among the harvests and death among the quiet cultivators of the soil. There were no marines, no militia, sent to oppose them—no. There were forces there, but they acted on their side; it was on the side of the wrongdoers, the invaders. It was here that Brown learned his first lesson on the slavery system; here the old man endured his first sufferings in the death of his first born, who was dragged manacled across the country by the slavery men in the heat of a broiling sun, and afterwards beaten by inhuman officers of these men. Another son was shot down by the same men. Revolving the indignation in his mind against the system that would tolerate and countenance such cruelty and bloodshed, he is goaded by his own feelings to a mad, but fixed determination to oppose it to the end of his life. And now, as he is in the most depressing, the most trying circumstances, no one can fail to discover in this same old man a manly, straightforward, independent soul, which rises high above all those among whom he is at present, however insane he may be. I shrink from the folly of the bloody fray in which he was engaged; I shrink farther from the bloody fray which will follow it, but while I do, I feel that bye-and-bye, when people will read the record of the whole tragic scene, they will wonder at and admire the bearing of the old man who, through all his misfortunes, woes and suffering, maintained a dignity and independence and a sentiment which only shines in full brilliancy when contrasted with the conduct of his accusers, who possess their reason. But one word more for those States which have powder for their cargoes: Suppose seventeen men seized the Armory at Springfield, Mass., do you think they would subject the inhabitants of that place; that all the militia of New York and Massachusetts, and other neighboring States, and the federal troops, would have to be called out to release them and overcome the seventeen? Do you suppose that the government would be alarmed, and that the President would have to deliberate with the Secretary of War on what was to be done? (Laughter.) Not at all. You cannot. You and every one else would rest satisfied that the people of Springfield would be fully able to manage the business themselves, and nobody would feel alarmed. But there is a dread hanging over the Southern States which paralyzes them on the very shadow of danger arising. The preacher now pushed forward into the subject of slavery in his usual warm and animated style, taking the above dissertation on the Harper's Ferry outbreak as a text. He informed his congregation of their duties, according to his opinion, towards the slave and his master, and the best method of benefiting the condition of both. In the course of his philippic he expressed his opposition to encouraging slaves to revolt, but strongly endorsed the actions of those who afford them shelter and protection in the face of the Fugitive Slave laws when they endeavor to effect their escape.

#### EXPLANATORY STATEMENT OF JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

Last week, Hon. Joshua R. Giddings delivered a lecture in Philadelphia to a large audience. The following extract relates to the circumstances of his acquaintance with John Brown:

Now, as to Brown: I entertain the opinion that his own account of his objects and designs is correct. I presume he has told the truth when he says that his whole object in going to Virginia was to free the slaves. On that point I suppose no one will doubt him. He declares he had no intention of shedding



blood. He only did that when compelled to do it. I therefore say that, in regard to his desire for freedom to the slave, he agrees perfectly with nine-tenths of the people of our free States—with nine-tenths of our ministers, who every Sabbath put up petitions to the Most High, for the relief of the oppressed.—I don't think he has at any time come up to my own views. I do not intend saying now what those views are. I am told it will not answer for me to tell them before a Philadelphia audience. But, while serving in Congress, Mr. Haskell, a slaveholder, inquired of me publicly whether I believed it morally right for slaves to leave their masters. I felt bound to speak frankly. I answered that I not only believed they could do so, but that it was morally wrong and wicked for them to remain in slavery an hour when they had the power to escape, even by slaying those who opposed their freedom; that were I a slave I would escape, if in my power, though compelled to walk upon the dead bodies of slaveholders from Mississippi to Malden.

On another occasion, when I was stating the number of fugitive slaves who dined at my house at one time, Mr. Bennet of Miss. publicly inquired if I was not prepared to go one step further. I answered that I was. If a slave-catcher had attempted to enter my dwelling to capture these people, I would have stricken him down upon the threshold of my door. Gov. Gale of Alabama inquired if I was willing to make such remarks when slaves were present to hear them? I told him I was, and if I had the power I would release every slave upon earth before the sun would go down. I have not changed my opinions.

I wish on this, as on all occasions, to leave upon record such an expression of my own views that I shall not blush—that my children will not blush—to read them hereafter. And as an illustration of my doctrines, I have paid probably \$200 per year from my limited means to free slaves from bondage. I have also fed and clothed those who called on me while flying to a land of liberty. To others who were pursued I have given arms to defend themselves, and have constantly spoken of these things in public and in private, by the wayside and by the fireside. I am opposed to taking human life, except in defense of life or liberty. In such cases I believe it a duty. In these opinions I think a large portion of our people of Northern Ohio concur. We do these things when we can do them without violating any enactment; but all will see that the place cannot change the moral character of the act. On feeling thus, men may become so excited as to go even as far as our Government did with the Algerines.—I would not; I have not the heroism to do it. My friends have requested me to state my own knowledge of Brown and his designs; and for this episode in my lecture they must be held responsible. I do not think the 'inquisitive gentleman' from my State (Mr. Vallandigham) has been very faithful. He ought to have found a letter of mine addressed to Brown; at least I wrote him one, directed to West Andover, Ohio, saying we should be glad to see him at Jefferson. He had been at Cleveland—had lectured there. Our people had felt a great desire to see him, and we were a little surprised that he did not call at our village, (which is the seat of justice for the county,) as it was said he had visited a son who was living in that vicinity.

I am entirely unable to state the time he was at our place, but have no doubt Brown was correct in his statement. When I came to this city I would have said I never saw Brown but once. Upon reflection, however, I am of the opinion that he came to Jefferson on Saturday afternoon, and that, so far as I am informed, his object was to make arrangements for the lecture.

On Sabbath, after the regular service, he spoke in our church. The ministers of the church and of other churches, I think, attended the lecture. Ladies and gentlemen were present. Republicans and Democrats all listened to his story with attention. It is impossible for me at this time to give an ab-

stract of the lecture. If any one desires knowledge on this point, I would refer him to the Hon. Jonathan Warner, a Democratic leader of that county. He was present, and one or two of his sons, and being very Pro-Slavery, he would be more likely to recollect particulars than myself. He spoke of his Kansas troubles, of his expedition into Missouri and bringing off some twelve or twenty slaves, and he urged it as a solemn Christian duty to assist slaves to obtain their freedom. He gave us clearly to understand that he held to the doctrines of the Christian religion as they were enunciated by the Saviour. I am not aware that he spoke of going into Slave States to aid slaves in escaping from bondage, but I had the impression that he would do so if opportunity should present. I think, however, that I inferred this from the fact that he had done it in Missouri, rather than from what he said. After he closed I addressed a few words to the audience in favor of a contribution, referring to his condition, to the death of his son, and the fact that in his situation he had no business which he could follow for his support. I believe every Democrat, as well as Republican present, gave something.

After the close of the meeting I cordially invited him to take tea at my home. While there, at the fireside, I inquired as to the particulars of his Missouri expedition. Mrs. Giddings also put questions. I fully expressed my own opinions as to the crimes of Slavery, the right of a slave to his liberty at all times and under all circumstances. I did not express as radical views as I had done in Congress. Such is not my habit. This I presume is the conversation which Brown delicately refused to make known to the 'inquisitive gentleman' from Ohio. While we were thus engaged his carriage came, and he left me.

These are the only times I ever saw him. Neither in his lecture nor in his conversation, did he say one word as to his having any associates, or assistants, or arms; nor did he speak of Virginia, or Harper's Ferry, or of an organization, or of a provisional government; nor do I believe that any men, save his associates, had information on those subjects; nor do I believe he had any established plan of action when he was in Ohio; but this is opinion, merely. I see the telegraphic dispatches represent that some one informed Mr. Brown or somebody else that 'J. R. G.' had taken three hundred dollars stock, &c. It will hardly be supposed that I would reply to such an intimation from an anonymous writer, directed to an anonymous person. This report will gain no favor where I am known. No man will there believe I ever gave three hundred dollars to Capt. Brown or any other man. I did, however, understand that Brown was in the West; that he led the party which rescued Doctor Doy, who had been kidnapped in Kansas and taken to Missouri. That was a subject in which I took a deep interest, and understanding that he was in want of money, I gave three dollars to his son. I think there was not a day from the time that Brown's son was murdered in Kansas to that of his capture at Harper's Ferry, that I would have hesitated to give him whatever money I had if assured that he was in want. But I little dreamed that this three dollars was to fit out a military expedition with arms, ammunition and men, to capture Harper's Ferry, effect the conquest of the Old Dominion, strike terror to the Executive, and imperil the Government. Of Stephens, who was said to refuse giving answers relating to me, I have no recollection or knowledge whatever. He may have seen me often, may have spoken to me. When I left home the capture of Brown had been known some few days, but I had heard no intimation that any man from that county was with him. And now, having stated the facts, I would say that if Gerrit Smith and other men contribute money and arms for Brown and his party, with the full knowledge that his intentions were just as Brown himself states them to have been—that is, the liberation of slaves without shedding of blood otherwise than of those who endeavored to hold

the slaves in bondage—they certainly offended against no law of Ohio, or so far as my knowledge extends, of any other Free State. Mr. Smith is an intelligent Christian gentleman, who knows his rights and understands his duties to God and mankind; and if he does not know them better than his assailants, he ought to be sent South and hanged when there. I have been pained at seeing the efforts of editors and Sensation Committees representing Mr. Smith as guilty of crime, and about to be sent for by Gov. Wise of Virginia, to be taken to that State for trial. These things have exhibited an ignorance in this Christian land that I little dreamed of. Indeed, the idea that a man, if guilty of a violation of law in New York, must be sent to Virginia for trial, is but an illustration of those minds who, though living in the Free States, look to the South for religious, moral, and political direction. They had better study, and know their own rights before assailing those of their fellow men. To them I would say the lovers of liberty are informed on this subject. The time for frightening men has gone by forever. Such men are behind the age. They may be compared to those whom Swedenborg says he met in the spirit world, who, although they had been there twenty, thirty, and some of them forty years, had not found out they were dead.

#### VISIT OF THE MILITARY TO OLD BROWN.

CHARLESTOWN, Va., Oct. 30, 1859.

The principal street of this town was all agog this afternoon, and the scene it presented for awhile was quite a novelty to a stranger. It would, indeed, have been quite amusing could we have looked upon it divested of the circumstances too forcibly impressed, however, for that which imparted to it its peculiar and more striking feature.

It being Sunday, and of course no court sitting, there was no marching and countermarching of military guarding a solitary, broken-down prisoner to trial—no continuous arrival of horses, teams and buggies, with country residents—no excited crowds at corners and hotel doors, discussing the all-absorbing question—no dealers in Yankee notions and medicine venders, taking the opportunity the times afford of holding forth on their wares. There was none of this, but on the contrary, all was still and quiet. Even at this time here, the influence of the Sabbath prevailed, and the silent streets only echoed to the footsteps of the people going to the different churches.

After dinner, however, the elements, that for a time were still, began to get into motion, and soon the late peaceful streets were busy with noise and life. First, the negroes had it all to themselves, and the town was as completely in their possession as if old 'Ossawatimie' himself had given it up to them. Young and old of both sexes turned out, as usual, I suppose, on Sundays, and their greetings to each other as they met were loud and hearty. The gentlemen looked their best, and evidently with a desire to please the gentle 'Dinahs,' who sweetly smiled. Such bowing and scraping and laughing I never witnessed, and the latter was broad and hearty.

By and by, however, the weakly attempts of an asthmatic drum to give up a martial rub-a-dub, announced the arrival of the Frederick Guards; then there was a rush from all quarters to the street, and the numerous staff of colonels, and the few privates that were comfortably enjoying themselves within doors, all rushed out to see the sight or join in the parade of the home troops, who got under arms to receive them. The brave defenders of Harper's Ferry were cordially received by their military brethren. The Guards paid but a short visit, one of the objects of which was to visit the jail and its unfortunate, though guilty, tenants; and ere it was dark they were well back on their way to Harper's Ferry.

With the concurrence of Judge Parker, the Frederick Guards and the company of Winchester Continentals, who arrived here last night, were permitted to visit 'Ossawatimie'



and the prisoners that were arraigned with him. Through the courtesy of Col. Davis and Major Hail, I was admitted with one detachment. On entering the small room occupied by Brown, he immediately rose from his cot bed, retaining a seat on it, however, and in a very unconstrained and hearty manner addressed his late opponents as they came in.—He is very much improved in health, and has regained much of his old self-possessed and commanding manner. As the men of the Continentals kept together, they crowded somewhat on him, but Old Brown shook hands with them and said: 'Gentlemen, I will shake hands with all of you;' which he did. He continued, 'I am very glad to see you, gentlemen, indeed. I once served, though not enrolled, with a company of yours. It was in the late war with England, as it is called, in 1812. But very few of the poor fellows ever returned to their homes. They were a picked body of men, and I remained near them for a time on the Northwest frontier, and it was my happiness on several occasions to render them aid and assistance in their sufferings.—They were mostly all of them from Petersburg, in this State, and they were so equal sized that when any small party of them were together, I could recognize them at any distance. The Virginian companies were then the finest that I had ever seen. Gentlemen, how many of you have arrived here?'

Continental—Some thirty of us.

Brown—Gentlemen, I should very much like to see you out of doors at your evolutions, but I am not in a position to see that. However, I am glad to see you as it is.'

The men moved into the other end of the room, where Stephens lay, and Brown adjusted the bed and again leisurely stretched himself upon his cot. Stephens neither spoke nor was spoken to. He is still suffering severely from his wounds.

The room occupied by Copland, Green and Coppee, was next visited. As it was to gratify mere curiosity that the prisoners were thus exhibited to party after party, little was said on either side. Copland was asked where he was from. He replied that he was from Ohio, and that he was sent down by Kagi to join Brown, who, he was told, was going to help the slaves to escape. 'I did not know,' said he, 'that Brown was going to create an insurrection, or I would not have joined him. He told all, except a few, differently. But he got me in for it, and I must suffer. I had no notion of coming here to fight.'

When we entered, Copland was standing upon his mattress, which lay along the hall; the others were standing together at the barred window, but they made no remark to any one.

Cook has requested to be left alone, as he is busily engaged in writing out his confession. His brother-in-law, Gov. Willard, of Indiana, is still here. Cook will be brought up for examination on Wednesday next. Brown's case will be decided to-morrow.—*Cor. N. Y. Herald.*

**AN EASY APPLICATION OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW**—Last Tuesday night, a negro, belonging to Mr. John L. Farquhar, of Boone county, Kentucky, turned up missing, and was the next day traced to this city, whither his master followed him, and who yesterday morning discovered him on the landing, bargaining for a dime to carry a trunk for a man who had arrived upon the Louisville boat. The negro, upon recognizing his owner, dropped his load, and, in a penitential manner, begged to be forgiven, and he'd go home and never run away again. Mr. Farquhar, who was too well pleased to recover his runaway property, agreed to overlook the hankering for freedom evinced by his charge in this instance, and the two immediately afterward crossed the river. It is said that the negro left his home in search of liberty, while in a state of don't-care-a fig-attiveness, brought on by the contents of a bottle which he had disposed of.—*Cincinnati Commercial, 28th.*

—Mrs. Stowe's new work, *The Minister's Wooing*, has already reached a circulation of 20,000 copies.

### A FREE NEGRO FROM ILLINOIS IS SOLD INTO SLAVERY AND MAKES HIS ESCAPE.

[From the Ottawa (Ill.) Republican, Oct. 15.]

We have several times before referred to the case of the negro Berkley, who last Spring started from Ottawa for Pike's Peak, in the employ of Mr. Aaron Daniels, and was arrested at St. Joseph, Missouri, there shockingly whipped for the purpose of making him say that he was a slave, and afterwards sold to the highest bidder. The accounts of the outrage, published at the time, were denied by the Douglassite press in this and other States, but these denials were fast falling before the testimony of witnesses who saw the negro whipped, when the Ottawa *Free Trader*, probably by advice from head quarters, came out with a statement, under the head of 'A Canard,' saying that the editor had made diligent inquiry, and could not find that any such negro had left Ottawa. Of course the Chicago *Times*, *State Register*, and other pro-slavery organs enlarged upon this voucher for the non-existence of the negro from Ottawa, and no doubt many honest Democrats believed that the story of the arrest and whipping was a Republican roorback.

But the return of the negro to this city on Monday evening last, and the recital of the story from his own lips, unhoodwinked all in this vicinity who before thought there was some truth in the denial of the facts, made by the *Free Trader*, and several prominent Douglassites. Some of the latter swore terribly when they saw the negro back again, and wished him among the rice fields; but the better disposed to them were inclined to listen to his recital of the treatment he suffered at the hands of the Missourians, and his subsequent escape.

He says, that soon after his arrest by the Sheriff, at St. Joseph, he was tied up and whipped in an unmerciful manner, with the object of making him own that he was a slave. This he persistently refused to do, but stated to his persecutors that he had been liberated by his master in Virginia several years ago.—Dr. Doy was in the jail at the same time, and he says if any doubt his story they can ask Dr. Doy. He probably did not know that Doy had already published the facts.

While lying in jail at St. Joseph, he employed an attorney to manage his case for him. This attorney, by Berkley's request, wrote to one or two persons in Ottawa, and obtained from them the assurance that Berkley had lived in the vicinity six or seven years.

But this, the lawyer wrote, made no difference. By the laws of Missouri, he would have to be sold for his jail fees, and that probably he would sell for about what he was worth in a southern market. This ended the correspondence, and Berkley was left to his fate. He states that he was soon afterwards sold to the highest bidder, being struck off to a Missouri farmer for \$1045. The farmer soon became satisfied that he was not safe property, and he took him down to the St. Louis slave market, where he was sold to a Southern trader and put upon a steamboat bound for New Orleans, stoutly hand-cuffed and chained to another negro.

When within a few miles of Memphis, the two managed to slip their hand-cuffs, whereupon they took leave of their keeper, jumped into the Mississippi, swam ashore, and started toward the north star, Berkley leading the way. They traveled nights and hid themselves in the day time, and in that manner made their way as far as Decatur in this State, where they thought it would be safe to travel openly. On their way through Tennessee and Kentucky they lived on potatoes, corn, &c., which they found in the fields on their way, a portion of the time being compelled to eat them raw. Somewhere below Decatur, they were discovered, and four men gave them chase with guns, whereupon they ran into a thicket of bushes, and the men passed within a few feet of where they lay, without discovering them. Some of the men were so eager to catch two live 'niggers' that they left their hats at home. They were undoubtedly good Douglas men, who expected to reap a

fat reward for delivering the negroes back to the slave drivers.

The negroes came all the way on foot until they reached La Salle, where their wants were better provided for. The loss to the slave trader is something over \$2,000 worth of human muscle and blood, as it is valued in a Southern market, and his gain, and amount of sympathy of leading Douglassites about here, who appear much displeased at Berkley's escape from being pressed into slavery. We imagine that this sympathy is all that the Missouri trader will ever get, for his chattels will probably take care of themselves hereafter.

**THE HUMAN FLESH MARKET.**—The St. Louis *Democrat* reports the following sale of 'a lot of negroes' belonging to the estate of Henry Maddux, deceased, in Marion Co., Mo.:

Sarah, aged about 50 years, to Thos. Bowling for.....	\$ 170
Sandy, a boy, 6 years old, to Thos. Bowling .....	400
Lucinda and her child Rachael, aged 28 years, to John D. Maddux .....	1,155
George, a boy, aged 6 years, to J. L. Fisher .....	660
Charley, aged 7 years, to Jas. Maddux .....	525
Silas, aged 6 years, to Elias Tooley .....	310
Anna, aged 2 years, to James Maddux .....	110

Total .....

At Col. Anderson's sale in Lafayette Co., on Monday, the 3d ult., negroes were sold at the following prices:

John Aull bought a negro man, woman and two children, (6 months' time),	\$3,300
O. H. P. Banks, negro man, 40 days.....	1,213
Dr. W. Higgins, man, 40 days.....	1,300
Thomas Calloway, man, 40 days.....	800
Thomas J. Yerby, man, 6 mos.....	505
John W. Waddell, woman and 3 children, 40 days.....	1,650
Benedict Thomas, woman and 1 child, 6 months .....	1,325
James S. Lightner, man, 6 mos.....	680
Levi Van Camp, man, 6 mos .....	900
Thomas Hinkle, girl, 6 mos.....	1,300
Wm. Morrison, man, 6 mos.....	1,500
Wm. Morrison, man, 6 mos.....	1,600
Elias Barker, man, 6 mos.....	1,125
James E. Yeatman, man, 6 mos.....	1,010
Robert S. Dinwiddie, man, 6 mos.....	560
S. G. Wentworth, man, 5 mos.....	1,250
John C. Young, girl, 6 mos.....	950
Richard C. Vaughan, man, woman and 2 children, 6 mos.....	2,240

**STRANGE DOCTRINES.**—Mrs. L. Littleton of Clarke County, Va., died some time since, leaving a will in which she gave freedom to her slaves. Her children are attempting to break the will, in order that the slaves may pass to them as property. The *Clarke Journal* takes a somewhat singular view of the case, propounding doctrines which will sound strange to Northern ears:

'The attempt is to prove that she was of weak mind, and had been influenced unduly by others; that she had previously intended to leave all her property to her children; and that the subject was of a magnitude that she could not comprehend. The nature of emancipation, that the right of property, the relations and duties of parent and child, the whole subject of disposing of valuable property—especially when the emancipation of slaves, under the laws of the State, is involved—is august, and seems to us to require corresponding capacity. The emancipation of slaves, as a general thing, is worse than the confiscation of property, and as their value is very great, it is no light thing to destroy such an amount of property. Besides, property belongs to the world, and ought not to be destroyed. Nothing that is valuable ought to be destroyed.—No one has a moral right, and he ought not to have a legal right, for instance, to destroy money. Perhaps the law demands improvement on this subject. Let no one be permitted, under any circumstances, to do that which causes a loss to the world, which is wrong in itself, and which works no good to any one, but evil in general and particular.'

—The inhabitants of New London, Ct., are taking measures to obtain a visit from the steamer *Great Eastern*.



# **TRIAL OF JOHN BROWN.** **Convicted and Sentenced to be Hung.** **Brown's Address to the Court.**

CHARLESTON, Va., Oct. 24.—The trial of Brown and other Harper's Ferry conspirators commenced here to-day in the U. S. Court. Col. Davenport was the presiding justice, and the following magistrates were associated with him on the bench: Dr. Alexander, John J. Locke, John F. Smith, Thomas H. Willis, Geo. W. Dichelderger, Chas. A. Lewis and Moses W. Burr.

The Sheriff was directed to bring in the prisoners, who was conducted from the jail under a guard of 80 armed men. The guard were also stationed around the Court. The Court House was bristling with bayonets on all sides. Charles B. Harding, Esq., acted as Attorney for the County, assisted by Andrew Hunter, counsel for the commonwealth. The prisoners were brought in, Brown and Edwin Coppie, manacled together. Brown seemed haggard and weak, with eyes swollen from the effects of wounds on the head. Coppie is uninjured. Stephens seemed less injured than Brown, but looked haggard and depressed. Both have a number of wounds on the head.

John Coptland is a bright mulatto about 25 years old, and Green, a dark negro and about 30.

Sheriff Campbell read the commitment of the prisoners who were charged with treason and murder. Mr. Harding, Attorney for the State, asked that the Court might assign counsel for the prisoners if they had none. The Court then inquired if the prisoners had counsel, when Brown addressed the Court as follows:

"I did not ask for any quarter at the time I was taken; I did not ask to have my life spared. The Governor of the State of Virginia tendered me his assurance that I should have a fair trial, but under no circumstances whatever will I be able to have a fair trial. If you seek my blood you can have it at any moment, without this mockery of a trial. I have had no counsel; I have not been able to advise with any one; I know nothing about the feelings of my fellow prisoners, and am utterly unable to attend in any way to my own defence. My memory don't serve me; my health is insufficient, although improving. There are mitigating circumstances that I would urge in our favor, if a fair trial is to be allowed us; but if we are to be forced, with a mere form of trial, for execution, you might spare yourselves that trouble. I am ready for my fate; I did not ask a trial; I beg for no mockery of a trial, no insult; nothing but that which conscience gives, or cowardice would drive you to practice. I ask again to be excused from the mockery of a trial; I do not even know what the special design of this examination is; I do not know what is to be the benefit of it to the commonwealth; I have now little further to ask other than that I may not be foolishly insulted only as cowardly barbarians insult those who fall into their power.

At the conclusion of Brown's remarks, the Court assigned Charles J. Faulkner and Lawson Botts as counsel for the prisoners. The first named gentleman, after a brief consultation with Brown and the others, addressed the Court, stating that he could not under any circumstances enter upon the defence of the prisoners on so short a notice. It would be but a mockery of justice.

Mr. Botts said he did not feel it to be his duty to decline the appointment of the Court. He was prepared to do his best to defend the prisoners, and he hoped the Court would assign some experienced assistant, in case Mr. Faulkner persisted in his disinclination.

Mr. Harding addressed Brown, and asked him if he was willing to accept Messrs. Faulkner and Botts as his counsel? Mr. Brown replied, I wish to say that I have sent for counsel; I did apply through the advice of some persons, whose names I do not recollect, to act as counsel for me, and I have sent for other counsel who had no possible opportunity to come; I wish for counsel, if I am to have a trial, but if I am to have nothing but the mockery of a trial, as I said, I did not care any thing about counsel; it was unnecessary to trouble any gentleman with that duty.

Mr. Harding—You are to have a fair trial.

Mr. Brown—There were certain men, I think Mr. Botts was one of them, who declined acting as counsel, but I am not positive about it; I cannot remember whether he was one, because I have heard so many names; I am a stranger here; I do not know the disposition or character of the gentlemen named; I have applied for counsel of my own, and doubtless could have them if I am not, as I said before, to be hurried to execution before they can reach me; but if that is the disposition that is to be made of me, all this trouble and expense can be saved.

Mr. Harding—The question is, do you desire the aid of Messrs. Faulkner and Botts as your counsels. Please to answer yes or no.

Mr. Brown—I cannot regard this as an examination under any circumstances; I would prefer that they should exercise their own pleasure; I feel as if it was a matter of very little account to me; if they had designed to assist me as counsel, I should have wanted an opportunity to consult them at my leisure.

Mr. Harding—Stephens, are you willing those gentlemen should act as your counsel?

Mr. Stephens—I am willing that gentleman shall, pointing to Mr. Botts.

Mr. Harding—Do you object to Mr. Faulkner.

Mr. Stevens—No. I am willing to take both.

Mr. Harding addressed each of the other prisoners separately, and each stated his willingness to be defended by the counsel named.

The Court issued a peremptory order that the press should not publish detail testimony, as it would render the getting of a jury before the Circuit Court impossible.

Lewis Washington stated that about 1 o'clock on Sunday night he was asleep and was awake by a noise; heard his name called; went down and was surrounded by six men; Stephens appeared to be in command; Cook, Coppie and two negro prisoners were along, and another white man, whom he recognized as Kagie. Mr. Washington then proceeded to detail all the particulars of his taking as a prisoner, with his negroes, to the armory, and the subsequent events up to the attack of the marines and his delivery.

A. M. Kittilier gave the particulars of his being taken prisoner and locked up. He subsequently had several interviews with Brown, who always treated them with a great deal of respect and courtesy; he endeavored to ascertain from Brown what object he had in view, and he repeatedly told him his only object was to free the slaves, and he was willing to fight the Pro-Slavery men to accomplish that object; on one occasion during the attack, I said to Brown, this is getting hot work, and if you will allow me to interfere, I can facilitate matters; he went out with Stephens, with a flag of truce on Monday afternoon; he requested Stephens to remain whilst he went forward, when Stephens was fired on and fell. I recognized only Brown and Stephens; I counted only twenty-two men, early in the morning, armed with Sharpe's rifles; when Stephens was lying wounded, he remarked to me, "I have been cruelly deceived," to which I replied, "I wish I had remained at home."

Mr. Washington, recalled.—In a conversation with Gov. Wise, Brown was told he need not answer questions unless he chose. Brown replied, he had nothing to conceal; he had no favors to ask; that he had arms enough for two thousand men, and could get enough for five thousand if they were wanted.

Armistead Ball declared the particulars of his arrest by the insurgents. I had an interview after his arrest with Brown; he stated that he had come for no child's play, and was prepared to carry out his designs; that his object was not to make war upon the people, and they would not be injured if they remained quiet; his object was to place United States arms in the hands of the black men, and he proposed to free all the slaves in the vicinity. Brown repeatedly said his whole object was to release the slaves; I asked him if some plan could not be arranged by the liberation of myself and the other prisoners; he said we could only be released by furnishing able bodied slaves in the place of each; I recognized Stephens, Green and Brown; Captain Brown told the prisoners, when the charge of the Marines was about being made, that though he did not intend to injure them himself, they should equally occupy the post of danger with himself; that if they were not dear enough to their fellow-citizens to accept the terms he had proposed to secure their safety, they must be barbarians; Coppie, on the other hand, told himself and friends to get behind the engines; that he did not wish to see any of them injured; one of the insurgents, Beecham, I heard say, "have dropped him;" I did not see Capt. B. fire once from the engine house; do not think he fired once; Green fired several times; the prisoners were never unreasonably exposed.

John Alstadt, one of the slave owners who was brought into the armory with his slaves, details particulars of the battering down of his door and his seizure by six armed men. [At this point Stephens appeared to be fainting, and a mattress was procured for him, on which he lay during the balance of the examination.] Think Brown fired several times; knows he saw him with a gun, leveled; saw all the prisoners, except the yellow man, Copeland.

Alexander Kelly detailed the particulars of the collision with the insurgents, and the exchanging of several shots; could not identify any of the prisoners.

William Johnson testified to the arrest of Copeland, the yellow man, who was attempting to escape across the river; he was armed with a spear and rifle, in the middle of the Shenandoah; he said he had been placed in charge of Hall's rifle factory, by Capt. Brown.

Andrew Kennedy was at the jail when Copeland was brought in; I questioned him; he said he had come from the Western Reserve of Ohio; that Brown came there in August and employed him at \$20 per month.

Mr. Faulkner objected to the testimony, as implicating the white prisoners.

The presiding Judge said his testimony could only be received as implicating himself.

Mr. Kennedy resumed.—Copeland said our object was to release the slaves of this country; that he knew of nineteen others in the party; that there were several others he did not know.

Joseph A. Brua was one of the prisoners in the

engine-house, and was permitted to go out several times with a flag of truce, during the firing; Coppie fired twice, and at the second fire Brown remarked, "that man is down." Witness then asked permission to go out, and found that Mr. Beckham had just been shot, and has no doubt that Coppie shot him.

Mr. Alstadt recalled.—Think that Capt. Brown shot the Marine who was killed; saw him fire.

The preliminary examination being concluded, the Court remanded the prisoners for trial before the Circuit Court.

The examination to-day was merely to see whether the charges are of sufficient importance to go before the Grand Jury.

To-morrow the jury will report the bill, and the case will be immediately called for trial.

There is an evident intention to hurry the trial through, and execute the prisoners as soon as possible, fearing attempts to rescue them.

In the case of servile insurrection, 30 days are not required between conviction and execution, as in other capital convictions.

The principal witnesses to-day gave precisely the same testimony in detail as was published in their statement in Monday's New York Herald.

CHARLESTON, Oct. 26.—Brown has made no confession, but on the contrary, says he has confidence in the goodness of God, and is confident that he will rescue him from the perils that surround him. He says he has had rifles leveled at him, knives at his throat, and his life at as great peril as it now is, but that God has always been at his side; he knows that God is with him and fears nothing.

Alexander R. Boteler, member elect for Congress of this district, has collected from 50 to 100 letters from the citizens in the neighborhood of Brown's house, who searched it before the arrival of the Marines. The letters are in the possession of Andrew Hunter, and one who has a large number of letters obtained from Brown's house by the Marines and other parties, among which a roll of conspirators containing 47 signatures; also a receipt from Horace Greeley for letters, &c., received from Brown, and an accurately traced map from Chambersburgh to Brown's house. Copies of letters from Brown, stating that as the arrival of too many men at once would excite suspicion, they should arrive singly.

A letter from Merriam stating that of the \$0,000 wanted, one was good for one-fifth. Also, a letter from J. E. Cook, stating the Maryland election was about to come off; the people will become excited, and we will get some of the candidates who will join our side.

The Circuit Court, Judge Parker presiding, met at 10 o'clock, and took a recess to await the report of the grand jury.

Brown has consented to be defended by Messrs. Faulkner and Botts, they assuring him that they would defend him faithfully, and give him the advantage of every privilege the law will allow.

The Court re-assembled at 12, when the grand jury reported true bills against each of the prisoners. 1st. Conspiring with the negroes to produce insurrection. 2d. For treason to the Commonwealth; and 3d, for murder.

The prisoners were brought in, but before the arrangements were made, Mr. Hunter stated that the Court ought to appoint a local counsel for the prisoners, as Mr. Faulkner, who was appointed by the County Court, considering his duty ended, had left.

Mr. Botts consulted with Brown, and at their instance Mr. Green was appointed by the Court.

Brown then spoke freely, merely asking some delay in his trial, to give him an opportunity to regain his hearing, which was impaired by the wound on his head, so that he was totally unable to hear.

Mr. Hunter said the request was rather premature. The arrangement could be made and this question could then be considered.

At the order of the Court the indictment was read, the prisoners being compelled to stand.—Each responded "Not Guilty," and desired to be tried separately.

The Court elected to try Brown first. His counsel asked for delay.

Mr. Hunter opposed delay, even a single day, characterizing it as dangerous, to say nothing of the pressure upon the physical resources of the community, growing out of circumstances connected with the affair, for which the prisoners are to be tried. He asked the Court not to receive the unimportant statement of the prisoners as sufficient grounds for delay; that the jailer and physicians be examined.

Mr. Harding concurred with Hunter on the ground of danger in delay, and also because Brown was the leader of the insurgents, and his trial ought to be proceeded with on account of the advantage thereby accruing in the trial of the others.

Mr. Green remarked that he had no opportunity of consulting with the prisoner, or preparing his defence. He thought a short delay advisable, and Mr. Botts supported his views, as it had been promised the prisoner should have an impartial trial. He presumed Northern counsel would come and take part in the case.

The Court stated that if physical inability was shown reasonably, delay must be granted. He



would request the physician who had attended Brown to testify as to his condition.

Mason thought Brown able to go on understandingly with the trial; did not think his wounds were such as to affect his mind or reason; he had always conversed freely and intelligently about his affairs; had heard him complain of debility but not of hardness of hearing.

Mr. Coker, one of the guards at the jail, said Brown had always been ready to converse freely.

Mr. Avis, jailor, had heard Brown frequently say that his mind was confused and hearing affected.

CHARLESTOWN, Oct. 27.—Brown was brought in on a cot; he looked considerably better, the swelling having left his eyes. Mr. Botts read a telegraph dispatch from A. H. Lewis, of Akron, Ohio, stating repeated instances of insanity in Brown's family. Botts stated that on showing the dispatch to Brown, he desired it to be stated that in his father's family there never had been any insanity at all. On his mother's side there had been repeated instances of it. He added that his first wife showed symptoms of it, which was also evident in his first and second sons by that wife.

Some portions of the despatches he knew to be true, of others he had no certain knowledge, but nevertheless he desired his counsel to state that he does not put in the plea of insanity. He disclaimed to put in that plea and seeks no immunity of that kind. The movement to that end was made without his approbation or knowledge even.

At the conclusion of his counsel's statement, Brown raised himself from the bed and said:—I would add, if the court will allow me, that I look upon the plea as a miserable artifice. I am perfectly unconscious of insanity, and I regret, so far as I am capable, any attempt to interfere in my behalf on that score.

Mr. Botts then asked for further time to enable counsel to reach Charleston from Cleveland.

The storm and interruption in telegraphic operations, prevented the getting of the latter portion of the report through. The Court refused to postpone the trial, and the whole afternoon was occupied in obtaining a jury for the trial of Brown, who was brought into Court on a cot. The trial will go on this morning, and counsel from Ohio are expected for Brown.

Messrs. Hunter and Harding opposed the motion for delay and were replied to by Mr. Green.

The Court refused to grant the motion, and the jury were sworn in the usual form, and the indictment read, the prisoner being allowed to forego the usual form of standing while being arraigned, if he desired it.

Brown accordingly continued to lie prostrate on his cot while the long indictment was being read.

The indictment contained three counts:—1st. Insurrection; 2d. Treason; 3d. Murder.

Mr. Harding then addressed the jury, presenting the several parts of the case, together with the laws against treason, colluding with slaves to incite insurrection, and murder, all punishable with death. He then went into an elaborate detail of the matters he expected to prove.

Messrs. Botts and Green, on behalf of the prisoners, cautioned the jury as to their duty towards the prisoners of the Commonwealth.

The following are the names of the jurors selected yesterday:—Richard Timberlake, Joseph Meyers, Thomas Watson, Jr., Isaac Dust, John C. McClure, William Rightstine, Jacob J. Miller, Thomas Osborne, George W. Boyer, John C. Wiltshire, Geo. W. Tapp, William A. Martin.

John Copeland, a mulatto prisoner, has made a full confession. He has given the names of the parties at Oberlin, who induced him to go to Harper's Ferry, furnished money for his expenses, &c.

CHARLESTOWN, Oct. 28.—Cook reached here to-day. Great rejoicing. He denounces Fred. Douglass as a coward, and says he promised to be at Harper's Ferry outbreak in person.

Geo. H. Hoyt, of Boston, arrived here to-day as counsel for Brown.

The Court met.

Brown still keeps his bed.

Mr. Botts announced the arrival of Mr. Hoyt to assist in the defence in case his services were needed, and at the suggestion of Mr. Hunter, he was admitted as a member of the Virginia bar.—The trial proceeded.

Conductor Phelps re-called and examined.—On the question proposed by defendant, as to when and by whom firing was commenced, he testified that no attack was made upon Brown until after the man Haywood was shot.

Lewis Washington was re-called.—He testified in answer to questions by Mr. Botts, that negotiations for the release of the prisoners were opened before general firing commenced on Monday. During the conflict he heard Brown frequently give orders not to fire on unarmed citizens. Brown had a rifle in his hands when struck down by the marines.

Mr. Hunter here laid before the jury the Constitution and ordinances of the Provisional Government.

Mr. Hunter proposed to prove Brown's humanity when a prisoner; offered to identify it himself. He was ready, he said, to face the music, but Hunter preferred proving it by Sheriff Campbell, who was accordingly called and identified a large bundle of letters. Brown also acknowledged their authenticity. Hunter also presented a list of

members of the convention, headed by William Charles Morris, as President, and H. Gage, Secretary; and likewise read the Giddings and Gerrit Smith letters, already published.

Armistead Ball, master mechanic of the armory, was then examined. The substance of his testimony has been already published.

#### Opening for the Defence.

CHARLESTOWN, Oct. 31.—The Court met at 9 o'clock. The trial proceeded. Brown looks better and is evidently improving, but nevertheless he reclined on his bed, as usual.

Mr. Griswold opened for the defence, contending that Brown could not be guilty of treason, inasmuch as he was not a citizen of Virginia, and as to the charge of levying war against the State the evidence did not sustain that. He admitted, however, that Brown came to Virginia for the purpose of running away slaves and for crime. He was amenable to the laws of Virginia while attempting to carry out that purpose. He took temporary possession of the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and while there attempts were made to arrest him, and it was while the prisoner was resisting these attempts that blood was shed and lives taken.

Mr. Chilton followed for the defence. His line of arguments are about the same as Mr. Griswold's.

#### Conviction of Brown.

CHARLESTOWN, Nov. 1.—[Continuation of yesterday's proceedings.]—Mr. Hunter concluded for the prosecution.

During most of the arguments to-day, Brown lay on his back, with his eyes closed.

Mr. Chilton asked for certain instructions to the jury, but only one was granted—the jury must be satisfied that the place where the offense was committed was in the boundaries of Jefferson county.

Recess for half an hour, when the jury came in. Brown sat up in bed while the verdict was rendered.

The jury found him guilty of treason, advising and conspiring with slaves to rebel, and for murder in the first degree.

Brown laid down quickly, and said nothing.—There was no demonstration of any kind. Mr. Chilton moved an arrest of judgment, on account of errors in the indictment, and errors in the verdict.

The remainder of the day was consumed in obtaining a jury in the case of Copple, which was not completed when the Court adjourned.

#### Sentence of Brown—Conviction of Copple.

CHARLESTOWN, Nov. 2.—Messrs. Russell and Sennott, from Boston, reached here to-day.

Cook was brought before the Magistrate's Court and waived an examination.

Copple's trial was resumed. No witnesses were called for by the defence. Mr. Harding opened for the commonwealth. Messrs. Hoyt and Griswold followed for the defendant, and Mr. Hunter closed for the prosecution.

The speeches were of marked ability.

Mr. Griswold asked for several instructions to the jury, which were all granted by the Court and the jury retired.

Brown was then brought in and the court house was immediately thronged.

The court gave its decision on a motion for arrest of judgment, overruling the objections made. In the objection that treason cannot be committed against a State, he ruled that where allegiance is due, treason may be committed. Most of the States have passed laws against treason.—The objections as to the form of the verdict rendered, the court also regarded as insufficient.

The Clerk then asked Mr. Brown whether he had anything to say why sentence should not be pronounced upon him.

Mr. Brown then rose, and in a clear, distinct voice, said:—I have, may it please the Court, a few words to say.

In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted, of a design on my part to free slaves; I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moving them through the country, and finally leaving them in Canada; I designed to do the same thing again, on a larger scale; that was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection. I have another objection, and that is, that it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered, in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved, for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of witnesses who have testified in this case, in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, those called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, father, mother, brother, sister, wife, children, for any of that class, have suffered or sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right. Every man in this event would have deemed it an act of reward, rather than of punishment. This court acknowledge, too, as I supposed the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed which I supposed to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament, which teaches me "that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them." It teaches me further to remember them that are in bonds as bound with them. I endeavored to act up to that in-

struction. I say that I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted, I have done in behalf of His despised poor, no wrong, but right. Now if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children, and with the blood of millions in this Slave country, whose rights are disregarded—cruel and unjust—I say let it be done.

Let me say one word further. I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected, but I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intentions and what was not. I never had any design against the liberty of any person, or any disposition to commit treason or incite slaves to rebel or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind. Let me say, also, in regard to the statements made by some of those connected with me, I fear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me; but the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness, not one but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part at their own expense. The greater number of them I never saw and never had a word of conversation with them till the day they came to me, and that was for the purpose as I have stated. Now I have done.

While Mr. Brown was speaking, perfect quiet prevailed, and when he had finished, the Judge proceeded to pronounce sentence upon him. After a few preliminary remarks, he said that no reasonable doubt could exist of the guilt of the prisoner, and sentenced him to be hung in public on Friday, the 2d day of December next.

Mr. Brown received his sentence with composure. The only demonstration was made by the clapping of the hands of one man in the crowd, who is not a resident of Jefferson county. This was promptly suppressed, and much regret expressed by the citizens at its occurrence.

The jury came in with a verdict of guilty against Copple on all the counts of the indictment.

#### THE RECENT NORTHERN STATE ELECTIONS.

Pennsylvania has been carried by the united Opposition by some 20,000 majority. They have nearly two to one in either branch of the Legislature, while the Senate was last year against them. They have carried Philadelphia, Lancaster, Pittsburg, Reading, York, and nearly all the cities. They have 4,000 majority in Lancaster County, with but 12,000 against them in Berks. They have 10 of the 11 Senators chosen this year. In short, the result is a clean sweep, such as was never before made by any party opposed to what is called Democracy in any year when there was neither Governor nor Congressmen to be elected.

Ohio has gone Republican by about 17,000 majority, reversing the Legislature chosen in 1857, which was Democratic in both branches. Then, the Republican State Ticket had about 1,000 average majority, but one candidate on it was defeated. Last year, with the rival candidates for Congress canvassing every County, a very large vote was polled, swelling the Republican majority to about 20,000.

Indiana elected only County Officers this year, yet we cannot doubt that the result indicates decided gains to the Republicans.—We have returns from northern, western, southern, and central Counties—all telling one tale. We believe a majority of the votes cast in Indiana last Tuesday were Opposition.

Iowa has gone Republican—Governor and other State Officers, with both branches of the Legislature. The vote is light, and the majority less than it otherwise would have been. We believe Kirkwood has over 2,000 majority for Governor, while Reusch for Lieutenant has more.

Minnesota was fairly carried by the Republicans in 1857, but they were brazenly cheated out of the fruits of their triumph by the polling of illegal votes and the forgery of bogus returns from the savage and frontier portions of the State. It is now carried by them so overwhelmingly that no possible extent of illegal voting, no impudence or forgery, can deprive them of the official concession of their victory.

Kansas has just adopted a Free-State Constitution, by 4,000 Republican majority.—*N. Y. Tribune.*



### THE LATEST FROM HARPER'S FERRY.

The following gives the latest intelligence of proceedings in the Harper's Ferry trials :

The excitement on these trials appears to be much abated.

Shields Green, one of the negro prisoners, was put on trial Wednesday. He was defended by Mr. Sennett. The evidence closed, and the case will be submitted to day (Friday) to the jury. Copeland is next for trial, and on Monday it is expected that the wounded man, Stevens, will be brought up. It is said to be almost certain that Cook will plead guilty, first submitting a written confession or statement of his connection with Brown. His brother-in-law, Willard, of Indiana, is still here.

A batch of persons were admitted to day to see the prisoners. Brown was anxious to know where Forbes was.

A man brought in by two of the Shepherdstown militia, was taken up on suspicion as a spy. He is the man who has been referred to as going about the country collecting information for a history of Virginia. He is at present in jail.

The surveillance of strangers is still in full force, and any one going about at night without the countersign is in danger of paying a visit to the guard house.

CHARLESTOWN, Va., Nov. 4.—Green, the negro, was convicted of inciting negroes to insurrection and murder in the first degree.—The charge of treason was abandoned in his case, he not being a citizen.

Copeland, the mulatto, was next put on trial.

CHARLESTOWN, Nov. 6, 1859.

The excitement in regard to the trial of the Harper's Ferry conspirators still continues, and a fair progress is being made by the Court in the disposal of cases.

The case of Copeland, the free negro, was brought to a close on Saturday P. M., the jury finding a verdict of not guilty of treason, as charged in the first count in the indictment, he not being recognized as a citizen, and guilty of conspiracy and murder as charged in the second and third counts.

The case was ably argued by Andrew Hunter on behalf of the State, and the prisoner was defended by George Sennott, Esq., of Boston, who labored with much zeal for his client.

A bill of exceptions and motion for arrest of judgment were entered by prisoner's Counsel, and will be disposed of to-morrow morning.

The Court assembled at 10 o'clock on Monday, and was called to order by Judge Parsons. The grand jury was then sworn, and immediately proceeded to their room to consider the case of Capt. Cook. A number of witnesses were summoned, and the jury were absent for about two hours.

On the reassembling of the Court, Mr. Harding, the Prosecuting Attorney, stated that as a number of the witnesses in the case of Cook, who would not be in the Stevens case, were present, he would, if agreeable to the counsel on the other side, take up the case of Cook first. Thos. C. Green, Esq., one of the counsel for Cook, said that as counsel he had not yet had time to read the indictment, and had not yet decided what plea to enter to the charge. He was unable to proceed in the case, and would prefer that the commonwealth should proceed with the case of Stephens, which would allow them time to prepare for the case of Cook.

To-day, Stephens was accordingly brought into Court and placed on a mattress. He looks pale and haggard. His abstinence from food and a large quantity of medicine taken by him, having had a decided effect.

It was then moved to proceed immediately with the case of Stephens and the prisoner Haslett, who has not yet been indicted in the Federal Court. It was immaterial to him whether Stephens would prefer a trial or not.

Mr. Sennott then asked delay of a moment for consultation with Stephens, after which he announced that the prisoner accepted the offer of the State to hand him over to the Federal authorities, and would prefer, therefore, to be remanded to jail.

Mr. Harding desired the Clerk to enter his earnest protest against the whole proceedings. He considered the proceedings wrong, and wished it to be shown on the docket.

Judge Parks to the Clerk—Do no such thing.—I wish no such protest entered on the docket of this Court.

The prisoner was then handed over to United States Marshal Martin, and lodged in jail, where he will remain until the term of the Federal Court at Stanton, which will not meet for some time.

The jury was then discharged and a large number of freeholders of the county summoned to an-

large degree of interest. Cook will be defended by J. E. Macdonald, Attorney General, and Mr. Voorhees, District Attorney, of Indiana, and Messrs. Lawson, Botts, and Thomas C. Green, of our own Bar.

The prosecution will be conducted by Andrew Hunter, Esq.

Cook hopes for a verdict in his favor.

Gov. Willard and Mr. Cowley, his brothers-in-law, will be present during his entire trial. He bears up under his wounds with much fortitude, and is seldom heard to murmur. His counsel, Mr. Sennott, who had endeavored to have his trial moved to an adjoining county, but was refused, appeared, and the empanelling of the jury was proceeded with. After a considerable number of jurymen had been obtained, Mr. Hunter arose and said that he had just received a dispatch which would probably interfere with further proceedings in empanelling a jury. He then read the following telegraphic dispatch from Gov. Wiece:

"RICHMOND, Nov. 7.

"ANDREW HUNTER—Dear Sir:—I think you had better try Cook and hand Stephens over to the Federal authorities. Respectfully,

H. A. WISE."

Mr. Hunter stated that he had for several days been in correspondence with Gov. Wise, and had in his possession a number of facts, important to the development of the case, which were unknown to the public, and which would for the present remain so. He had said his last letter to the Governor, came into possession of other facts, which pointed to Stephens as the most available party to be handed over to the Federal authorities, as he felt assured that enough would be ascertained to result in bringing before the Federal bar a number of the prominent abolition fanatics in the North.

Mr. Harding objected to these proceedings, and insisted that the case should be proceeded with.—He was not in league with Gov. Wise or any one else, and was not led by any one. He would only receive, as a compensation for his arduous labors, a small pittance received by the Circuit Court.

Mr. Sennott remarked that he had not consulted with his client, and as the Jury had partly been chosen, he would not consent that the State should hand the prisoner over to the Federal Government. For what purpose it was to be done, was known to Gov. Wise, and had been foreshadowed by the remarks of Mr. Hunter. If time had been allowed him, the trouble had in empanelling a Jury, would have been disposed with.

### Trial of Cook.

CHARLESTOWN, Nov. 9.—The trial of Cook commenced yesterday. The Court room was crowded. Gov. Willard and Mr. Crowley, brothers-in-law of the prisoner, were seated beside him. He pleaded guilty to all the counts in the indictment, except that of treason. The prisoner was well dressed, firm and dignified.

The demurrer to the treason count was argued and overruled by the Court.

The jury were then sworn, and the same questions put to them as in Brown's case.

Mr. Green, for the prisoner, admitted the fact of the conspiracy of the Slaves to rebel, which was punishable with death, or imprisonment for life.

Mr. Hunter then rose and read a Confession by Cook, written by himself. There were twenty-five foolscap pages of it. Nothing new was elicited by it, except that he implicated Fred. Douglas and Dr. Howe, of Boston. The Confession will be published in a pamphlet form, for the benefit of Samuel C. Young, who was wounded at Harper's Ferry.

To-day was spent in taking testimony and opening of argument for State.

The public feeling against Cook is stronger than against any other of the prisoners. He is regarded as having been a spy for the insurrectionists.—Strong efforts will be made by Gov. Willard to save his life.

### The Kidnappers of John Rice.

It is highly probable, from what we learn, that the persons whose duty it is, will see that every one directly concerned in kidnapping John Rice, a free man, in all probability, from Morrow county, to be sold into perpetual Slavery among the rice swamps or sugar plantations of the extreme South, is promptly brought to trial for this grave offence. If possible, their victim ought to be traced out on his dismal journey Southward, and relieved, by legal forces, from the situation, worse than death, to which these inhuman white men, by the basest acts of deceit, by brutal violence, and by the complicity of a most accommodating Commissioner, have succeeded in sending him. Is this the way in which the demand for "more slaves" is to be gratified?

It is time that free men in Ohio should vindicate their laws and their own self-respect. Strong presumption of guilt in this case exists against every leading instrument concerned in the disgraceful transaction. The offence of the Commissioner, most certainly, should also receive due notice. The pretence that Rice admitted he was the slave of the claimant, while crossing the river, we believe to be unfounded in truth, and got up merely to shield the guilty parties. We are glad to know there is a...

### WILL GOV. WISE PARDON BROWN.

The N. Y. Herald of last Friday contains the following :

'NO HANGING, AFTER ALL.—We understand that Governor Wise has decided not to hang Old Brown and his companions, but to set them to work in the State penitentiary, and have strict examination made as to their sanity, about which their seems to be a little doubt. At the expiration of his term of office, Governor Wise will turn them over to his successor, Governor Letcher, probably to be again respited. Brown, Cook & Co., will be kept in the hope of catching Seward, Giddings & Co., who would be much more welcome in Virginia than their half crazy tools.'

The following is an extract from an article in the Richmond Enquirer, edited by a son of Gov. Wise, and, no doubt expresses his mind. From it may be gathered that clemency, not to say wisdom, will not move the executive heart of Virginia. After saying that the efforts to obtain a commutation of his sentence were not confined to the Black Republican journals, but even the N. Y. Journal of Commerce joins the mistaken cry for clemency, on the ground that 'hard work for life' is less dangerous than a dead martyr, and 'misguided people' sympathize more with the dead than with the confined living, it proceeds :

'To us it appears that John Brown, at hard labor, would be a continual source of supply for abolition fanaticism; that his groans would resound from Richmond to Eastport, and from the James River to the St. Lawrence, that every meeting of the Black Republican and abolition parties would herald forth resolutions for his liberation; that the stump in every election, from a constable to the presidency, would be redolent with praises of his heroism and curses upon his imprisonment. Not so with John Brown executed.

'He has forfeited his life, and though possessed of many traits of character, that were worthy of a better fate, pity and commiseration are closed against the murderers of Turner, Beckham, &c.

"Vindictive and blind feeling" has characterized no part of this trial, and we can appeal to the world that neither "indecent haste," harsh treatment, nor any wrong has been offered to the prisoners. A speedy, but fair trial was demanded by all the circumstances. A grievous wrong had been done, and quick retribution was necessary. Threats of rescue were freely made, and the prisoner, by a bold and impudent effrontery, held out the belief that hope of relief was still entertained.'

The Washington Correspondent of the Tribune, under date of Nov. 4, says :

Reliable letters from Richmond state that under no possible circumstances will Gov. Wise commute Brown's sentence. His fate may be considered as sealed. The hope is entertained by all Opposition men here, that Cook will be turned over to the United States Court for the purpose of confronting the calumnies and fabrications, circulated for political effect, by bringing all witnesses forward under process if necessary.

As the Administration declined proceeding against Hugh Forbes, the self confessed conspirator and mercenary, it is not probable that it will seek the arraignment of Cook; as the opportunity would be afforded for exploding all Forbes's charges by indisputable proof.

PLUCK.—The following card from T. L. Carson, Editor of the State League, speaks for itself :

'Know all men by these presents, that if I, T. L. Carson, should see my sons and daughters on the auction block, or sold to a slaveholder or slave-dealer, I should want a sharp shooter, well loaded, and if I could bring the United States Government into an individual, I would aim at his heart, and pray to the God of old John Brown, to give it good execution.'



**The Halifax Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society** purpose holding a Bazaar in February, 1860, to which they would most earnestly invite the aid of all those kindred societies and friends who sympathize in the Anti-Slavery cause.—The proceeds of this Bazaar will be devoted to two objects:—the support of the Anti-Slavery Paper edited by Frederick Douglass, which is the organ of the free colored people and the advocate of the enslaved in the United States:—and the aid of fugitives escaping from bondage.

Any portion of the contributions which are not sold at Halifax will be forwarded to the Rochester Anti-Slavery Society for sale in America: so that contributors need not fear that the articles they may send will be sacrificed for the sake of immediate sale, as is so often the fate of elegant things at Bazaars.

Frederick Douglass, the gifted Editor of the paper which bears his name, is expected to visit Great Britain in the coming winter.—If, as is hoped, his presence can be secured at the Bazaar in Halifax, it will greatly add to the interest of the occasion. We may well hope that the effect of his proposed lectures in this country will be to stimulate the energy and increase the efficiency of existing Societies, and to lead to the formation of many new ones. The time is not passed in which the strong protest of English friends against the odious system of American Slavery is needed: and their substantial aid to the efforts of the Abolitionists in the United States is still an important means of holding up their hands in the unceasing conflict they are waging with slavery. The recent daring and successful attempts to re-open the slave trade in America, even in opposition to the law of the country, shows how rampant the slave power still is, and how urgent is the need of continued and increased vigilance on the part of the friends of the slave to check and repress its encroachments.

The following are the names of those who will receive contributions for the Bazaar; which should be sent to HALIFAX not later than the 1st February, 1860, addressed to

Mrs. HARGREAVES, Lord Street;  
Mrs. CARPENTER, Milton Place;  
Mrs. CROFTS, North Parade.

Aberdeen—The Misses Watson, 3, Rotunda Place.

Arbroath—Mrs. Sandison.  
Barnsley—Mrs. Richardson, Dodworth M't.  
Beckenham, Kent—Rev. Dr. Marsh, (pecuniary contributions only.)

Belfast—Miss H. Hineks, Murray Terrace.  
Berwick-on-Tweed—Miss Cairn, Wellington Terrace.

Birkenhead—Mrs. J. B. Cooke, Shrewsbury Road.

Birmingham—Mrs. Goodrick, 11, George St., Edgbaston; Mrs. Middlemore, Edgbaston.

Bradford—Mrs. Russell, Melbourne Place;  
Mrs. Lythall; Miss M. A. Snowden, 12, Melbourne Place.

Breechin—Mrs. Lamb, The Latch.  
Bridge of Allen—Mrs. Blair, Viewfield.

Bridgwater—Mrs. A. King, Dampiet Street.  
Bristol—Miss Carpenter, Red Lodge House;  
Miss Fox, 13, Cotham New Road.

Brighon—Miss Faulkner, Alpha House;  
Lansdowne Road.

Chelmsford—Mrs. J. Candler.  
Cork—The Misses Jennings.

County of Donegal—Mrs. Young, Culdaff House, Carndonagh.

Coventry—Miss Cash, Sherbourne House.  
Derby—Mrs. Steer, Miss Hutton.

Doncaster—Mrs. Tyle.

Dublin—Mrs. Studdert, Rathgar Mansion,  
Lathmines; Mrs. W. Webb, 8, Dunville Avenue, Rathmines.

Dundee—Mrs. Borwick, Bell Street.

Place; Miss Carpenter, 7, Buccleugh Place;  
Miss Sturrock 6, Queen's Place, Leith Walk.  
Evesham—Miss Davis, Almswood.  
Falkirk—Miss Wilson, Brockville House.  
Glasgow—Mrs. Robson, 2, Queen's Crescent;  
Miss Smith, 62, Kelvin Grove Street.  
Huddersfield—Mrs. J. W. Learoyd, 42, New North Road; Miss Rhodes, Folly Hall.  
Lancaster—Mrs. Barton Worthington.  
Leeds—Mrs. Thomas Harvey.  
Leicester—Miss Hannah Burgess.

Liverpool—Mrs. Cropper, Dingle Bank; Mrs. J. Robberds, High Park St.; Mrs. Cearn, Rodney Street.  
London—Mrs. H. B. Ingram, 4, Percy Sq're, Pentonville; Mrs. Colin R. Roberts, 1, Chesterfield St., Pentonville; Mrs. Griffiths, 3, Queen's Terrace, Haverstock Hill; Mrs. M. Bowden, 53, Gracechurch St., (Free Labor Depot); British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Office, 27, N. Broad Street.

Manchester—Mrs. Morris, 211, York Street, Cheetham Hill Road.

Mansfield—Miss M. Adlington, King's Mills.  
Merthyr—Miss Howell, George Town.

Montrose—Mrs. Lawrence, Mrs. R. Barclay.  
Newcastle-on-Tyne—Miss Pringle.

Rotherham—Miss Robinson, 6, Wellgate.  
Sheffield—Mrs. Rawson, Wincobank; Mrs. Yeomans.

St. Ives, Huntingdonshire—Mrs. Podd Brown.

Taunton—Mrs. Blake, Bishops Hull.  
Tadmorden—Mrs. Stephenson.

Wakefield—Miss Smith, Graham's Terrace;  
Miss Dawson.

Warrington—Mrs. R. Gaskell, Penketh.  
Waterford—Mrs. J. J. Strangman.

**EXECUTION OF CAPT. BROWN.**—The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, adopted the following resolution at Boston on Monday:

'Resolved, That it is recommended to the friends of impartial freedom throughout the Free States, in case of the execution of Capt. John Brown, now on trial for his life in Virginia, to observe that tragical event, on the day of its occurrence, in such a manner as by them may be deemed most appropriate in their various localities—whether by public meetings and addresses, the adoption of resolutions, private conferences, or any other justifiable mode of action—for the furtherance of the Anti-Slavery cause, and renewedly to consecrate themselves to the patriotic and Christian work of effecting the abolition of that most dangerous, unnatural, cruel and impious system of Slavery, which is the fruitful source of all our sectional heart-burnings and conflicts, which powerfully and increasingly tends to promote servile insurrections and civil war, which cannot be more truly or more comprehensively described than as the sum of all villainies, which is a burning disgrace and fearful curse to the whole country, and by the speedy extinction of which, alone, can the land be saved from violence, blood, and utter demoralization.'

**LET THEM COME ON!**—The following threat appears in the New York Herald:

RICHMOND, Oct. 31, 1859.

I am informed to day that it is the intention to try Cook, the Harper's Ferry rebel, in the United States District Court for that District. This course has been determined upon with a view to compel the attendance of Seward, Greeley, Wilson, Howe, and other outsiders, who are suspected of complicity in the insurrection. If, in the progress of the trial, their guilt as aiders and abettors shall be established, the probability is that they will be assigned positions in the dock beside Cook, and subjected to the same ordeal that led to the majority of them being brought forward as witnesses. The list to be summoned will embrace every individual, wheresoever he may reside, whose name has been identified with this movement in any connection, however remote.

**A PAINFUL RUMOR.**—Just as we go to press the telegraph from Utica informs us that Gerit Smith has become deranged, and that he is now confined in the State Lunatic Asylum in that city.

**A LARGE UNDERGROUND ARRIVAL.**—The Underground Railroad, a principal branch of which runs through this city, is doing a thriving business. Yesterday morning a cargo of live freight, consisting of twenty-six 'chattels,' all the way from Missouri, arrived here, and were safely landed in Canada. Their conductor was a gentleman well-known to most of our readers for his exploits in Kansas, and his connection with certain exciting events in Missouri. They were taken through Nebraska, Iowa and Illinois to Chicago, and then to Detroit. The gentleman who escorted the procession to this city, had about fifty thousand dollars worth of property stolen from him, or destroyed, in Kansas, by the Border Ruffians, and he is now practicing the law of retaliation upon his plunderers. He informs us that a perfect panic has seized the slaveholders of Missouri, and that they are hurrying the slaves down South by the hundreds.—Between the stampede South and their escape into Kansas, he says Missouri is to be a free State much sooner than the most sanguine have hoped. Several border counties have already been almost depopulated of slaves, and still the 'irrepressible conflict' is going on!—*Det. Adv.*

**LUCY STONE AND DOUGLAS.**—Some weeks ago we published a letter purporting to be from Senator Douglas to Lucy Stone, which turns out to have been a forgery. The following letter from her appears in the *Liberator* of last week:

Boston, October 12, 1859.

Dear Mr. Garrison:—I am surprised to learn that the letter going the rounds of the papers, purporting to be from Stephen Arnold Douglas to me, is being received as a veritable correspondence. The hoax seemed to me so bare-faced that I never gave it a second thought. I have never written to or received a line from Mr. Douglas, and it is not to such men that the Women's Rights cause appeals for help. Yours for truth,

LUCY STONE.

**ALLEGED KIDNAPPERS ARRESTED.**—Two men, named Michael Weaver and Wm. Stewart, were arrested in Cincinnati last week on a charge of kidnapping a colored man from the Ohio side of the river, to Jamestown, Ky., where, after concealing him two weeks, as is stated, they removed him to Newport, and there lay in jail for some time. The *Enquirer* says that the allegation is that the parties arrested at first kidnapped two slaves from Tasso county, Va., and bringing them to Cincinnati, informed their master of their apprehension, supposing he would pay a large reward for their recovery. The owner of the slaves, however, did not offer a reward, and thereupon the men removed one of the slaves—the other having escaped—over the river. Weaver and Stewart are now on trial.

**STAMPEDE OF SLAVES FRUSTATED.**—The Towsontown (Md.) *Advocate* has the following:

'We understand that on Saturday night a band of some forty slaves was to have congregated at Dr. Butler's place, near Finksburg, in Carroll County, Md., but one of them disclosing the secret, the plan was frustrated, and five of them arrested and placed in Westminster jail.'

The above, says the New York *Tribune*, is confirmed by the Westminster *Sentinel*, which states that the slaves belonged to Dr. Butler, George Jacobs, and Hanson T. Bartholow: Horses and carriages were in waiting when the discovery was made. That paper adds that they were all arrested, and that unknown parties were concerned in the attempted stampede.

—Considerable excitement exists in Cleveland, Ohio, caused by the discovery of the fact that a farmer who took some colored children from a benevolent institution, has gone off to St. Louis to sell the children into slavery. The wretch who is charged with the crime is a rampant Democrat.



## A TOUCHING INCIDENT.

The following passage occurs in a recent speech made at Boston, by Theodore Tilton of Brooklyn :

Some time ago—yes so long ago as the cold weather of Christmas—which is the slave's holiday, when the happy festival comes round when he is to be bought and sold—a poor slave woman attempted, by the aid of her husband, who was a free man, to escape from bondage with her two little children, and to cross Chesapeake Bay in an open boat. Shortly after they set sail, a violent north-west wind forced them to go ashore at Annapolis. The little weather-beaten party having a suspicious look, a project was immediately sent on foot to arrest and throw them into jail. The husband's sagacious eye was keen enough to see the trap before he fell into it. He hurried his wife and children into the boat, and, notwithstanding the weather, embarked. The storm and cold increased, and their fear increased with it. They trembled at the thought of landing a second time on an inhospitable shore. The man—who was a boat-builder by trade, and of some skill as a sailor, trimmed his sails to keep the boat at sea. The water dashed over the bow, and the mother hugged her infant to her breast to keep life in its body. But life could not be kept there long. Little by little the cold crept through the limbs of the babe, and chilled its blood. The mother looked at her infant as it lay still in her arms. The poor woman shed her tears upon the little face, but they were shed in vain. The child was dead—dead from the cold! She hugged it close to her bosom all day long, but at night her husband lifted it over the side of the boat and dropped it with sad burial into the sea! Oh! that winter night, and that aching heart!—There was one child left; and the mother after much suffering by sea and land, and after many weary foot journeys in the night, reached the border line of a free State—carrying in her arms the burden of the living child, and carrying in her heart the greater burden of the dead. She was then met by some strangers who proved to be Friends, and who aided her on her way to Canada! Now, this is a story that should tingle the ear even of a man of bronze; but what would the man of bronze have said to it? What if this poor woman, instead of meeting a few Quakers in Pennsylvania, had chanced to have fallen in the way of the great man of Massachusetts, whose image has been set up in the State House yard? What would the great man have done? Why, he might perhaps have been a little touched with natural sympathy, but, as the first step, he would of course immediately have *'conquered his prejudices.'* Then, next, he would have *'discharged that duty'*—the catching of the fugitive slave—*'as an affair of high morals and high principles'* Then, next, in regular order, he would have turned around, and have said with a complacent smile—*'Any man can perform an agreeable duty; it is not every man who can perform a disagreeable duty.'* Then—well, what then? Why, nothing would have remained for the great man of Massachusetts but to lift up his magnificent head, and to hold it still, until, like his heart, it should become petrified into bronze! And there to-day stands the image in the State House yard!—in honor of the man who stood up in his place in the Senate of the United States and recommended to Massachusetts that she should catch and return every trembling fugitive slave who, faint and pursued, should come to seek the shelter of the shadow of Bunker-Hill!—the man who, in the full maturity of his powers, surrendered the high moral principles which had been the honor of his manhood, and his only claim to the confidence of Massachusetts—with the deliberate aim of securing, even at such a cost, the place and chair of the head of the country which he too eagerly hoped would be given to him by the Slave Power in reward for his recreancy to the cause of freedom, and his denial of the right of men!

## KIDNAPPING AT CHILLICOTHE—A FREE MAN STOLEN.

There was perpetrated in our city last night (Wednesday) another outrage, more infamous in its features than the stealing of Lewis Early, which is still fresh in the minds of our readers.

About 9 o'clock a creature named Mike Harley, in company with a stranger, went to Thompson's livery stable and hired an express wagon, as they said, to go to Portsmouth.

It appears that they, with some two or three confederates, then drove to the house of a colored man named Oliver Anderson, in the lower part of the city, knocked at the door and demanded admission. Anderson had gone to bed, and before getting up demanded what they wanted. They answered that he had a new set of chairs in the house, which he had stolen. He replied that he had not stolen them; that he had bought them, and could prove where he had got the money he had paid for them.

They then demanded, with curses, that he should open the door; said they were going to have the chairs, and if he didn't give them up peaceably they would take them by force.

He told them then to wait until he could dress, and he would open the door. He did so, when three or four men rushed up, seized him, and attempted to handcuff him. He resisted with all his power, but, after being severely beaten, was overcome and hustled into the wagon. His wife, when they entered the house, screamed for help; but one of the ruffians struck her a blow, and said if she didn't keep quiet they'd kill her.

After getting Anderson in the wagon, one of the men re-entered the house and demanded Anderson's child, a boy about two years old; but his wife seized it in her arms, and escaped out the back door.

She then commenced screaming for help, but being some distance from any other house, and frightened almost out of her senses, it was some time before she could reach her nearest neighbors and give a coherent account of what had happened. The kidnappers had then escaped with their victim.

It seemed strange that even then a general alarm was not raised and pursuit made. But nothing was done, and ere this there is but little doubt that Oliver Anderson is upon slave soil, doomed, inevitably, to a life of bondage. Anderson had been a resident of this city four or five years and was a quiet, inoffensive, and industrious man. That he was a free man there is but little doubt; but whether he was or was not, his being kidnapped in this way is a most deep and damnable outrage. If any man claimed him as his slave, and could legally establish his claim, why did he not take him in daylight, go before a United States Commissioner and prove his claim?—*Scioto Gazette, Oct. 13.*

The *Commercial* states that it has ascertained that Deputy U. S. Marshal Geo. W. Baker and a policeman named Michael Harley were the parties who abducted Anderson. They took him to Portsmouth, and thence to Kentucky. They assert that Anderson was a fugitive slave, and that they were merely returning him to his master. The people of Chillicothe held a public meeting Saturday night to give expression to their sentiments. They believe Anderson to be legally a free man. Is not this a case deserving the Gidding's treatment?—*Cleveland Leader.*

—A bill has been introduced in the Tennessee Legislature to prevent free negroes traveling on the railroads in that State, which passed the first reading. The bill provides that the President who shall permit a free negro to travel on any road within the jurisdiction of the State under his supervision shall pay a fine of \$500; any conductor permitting a violation of the act shall pay \$250; provided such free negro is not under the control of a free white citizen of Tennessee who vouches for the character of said free negro in a penal bond of one thousand dollars.

A RUNAWAY SLAVE.—The Manchester *Mirror* has the following particulars in regard to the trip through New England of a runaway slave:

A slave by the name of 'Bill' says that he has lived in Louisiana, and about a year and a half ago he went to the St. Charles Hotel, New Orleans, to work. A short time since he conceived the noble idea of visiting the land of freedom, in the regions towards the North Star. He got on board a vessel bound for New York, and secreted himself three days and nights without food. Then he made his appearance, and was harshly talked to at first by the captain, but afterwards was treated kindly enough. Arriving at New York, he was kindly received by benevolent men, who learned his condition, and \$6 were given him to buy a passage to Boston. He used only \$2 of it on the way, and at Boston a negro took the money and played possum on him a little. He gave him a ticket, as Bill supposed good, through to Canada, and really good only for Lawrence, and a piece of paper. He told him not to show the paper till he got into the cars, and then stick it into the front part of his cap, where the conductor could see it. On the paper was marked 'Fugitive Slave.' The conductor told him he was a fool to carry it there. He found no difficulty in getting from Lawrence to Concord, in this State. There it was ascertained that the slave's master, one answering his description, was near at hand, no further off at least, than White River Junction. By hook and crook (considerable crook) he was smuggled down to this city, where he spent the day quietly yesterday, in a certain place, where a new suit of clothes was given him, and at a proper time, was started off in a proper direction, and is ere this pretty safe from pursuers.

THE NEXT THEATRE FOR ACTION.—The Charleston *Mercury* publishes the following letter from a Southerner in Kansas, remarking that it points in the right direction:

PAOLA, K. T., August 15, 1859.

'I take the liberty of writing you a few lines on a subject of interest to the South. It is pretty well conceded that Kansas will be a Free-Soil, Black Republican State, beyond question. The South has not done anything since '56, except to allow our Constitution to be rejected. We have about 2,700 Southern men in Kansas still, and they intend emigrating South as soon as Kansas is admitted into the Union. We are connected with a Southern organization, and, including all, we have about 17,000 men. The next theatre for action will be the Indian territory south of Kansas, including Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw nations. The South should prepare for this in time, and stand by her Territorial rights. They are of the last importance to our colonization. The Abolitionists are the most constant and incessant workers I ever knew belonging to any party. The Danite order is large and well drilled in Abolition tactics.

COLORED MILITARY MEN AND COLORED MUSIC.—While Massachusetts is endeavoring to foster and encourage dark colored men for Volunteer Militia, the free city of Philadelphia is determined to put down colored bands of music. At the Firemen's Convention which had assembled a few days since, for the purpose of getting up an escort to the Empire Fire Company of Lynn, it was voted to exclude all colored bands from appearing in the line of procession for any Fire Company. In the city of 'Brotherly Love,' no colored persons are allowed to ride in the public omnibusses, hacks, or horse railway cars. They are also excluded from admittance to any fair, concert, or place of amusement. No colored person is allowed at the meetings of the City Councils, or in the schools of the city.

—The report of a marriage engagement between Senator Sumner and a wealthy lady in the vicinity of Boston, circulated some time ago, is contradicted by the Boston Transcript.



## VOICE FROM A SLAVE STATE.

GERMANTOWN, Ky, Sept. 15, '59.

To the Editor of the National Era.

I feel much solicitude in reference to the action of the Republican party in 1860.—Many, I see, are in favor of a mere Opposition party—at best, simply non-extension. I have for months had my attention directed to this movement, and have noticed the opinions of Anti-Slavery men here in Kentucky. Not one man have I heard express a desire for a party. With one voice, they say, 'Give us, this time, a representative man'—a man who has some political antecedents—a man whose long and well-tryed fidelity to the cause of Human Freedom will be of itself a guaranty, even should there be no platform. It seems to me that such only can enlist the true enthusiasm of the conscientious and God fearing—the men who called the party into being, and from whom it ought to have its most earnest support. I mean, the party should be in such an attitude as to command their support.

What is to be gained by a compromise position? Certainly not one slave State will be carried by it. The Slave power is yet dominant. Some in free States, who have much of the spirit of caste, may go with an Opposition ticket. But would not such a ticket, from its supposed or real complicity with Know-Nothingism, lose as many of those who by birth are foreigners, or of those who are in deep sympathy with such?

I believe a true Anti-Slavery party, with a well-tryed standard-bearer, would abstract many from the old Democratic party, who are tired of the present Pro-Slavery Administration.

I hope no one will be put forward as a standard-bearer who is a slaveholder, or who would banish a man as a condition of his freedom, or anywhere build a mere 'white man's party.' We may act without getting all we desire, but, for one, I feel we cannot act, if called upon to do positive wrong—protect Slavery.

Let the friends of Freedom everywhere imitate the example of the Christian Anti-Slavery Convention that met in Columbus, Ohio, last month. Organize State committees, and appoint State lecturers. Let these encourage county organizations. Let these appoint lecturers, raise funds, distribute documents, urge righteous men, ministers and all, (for ministers have citizens' duties as well as citizens' rights,) to go into the primary conventions, and there urge the nomination of true and well-tryed men; and then, by their presence at the public meeting, ballot-box, everywhere, sustain such nominations. How shall we pray for God's Kingdom to come, when we stay at home, and yet wicked men put forward wicked rulers, who will perpetuate the devil's kingdom? Pilate feigned to wash his hands in innocency when he had power to release Christ, but did not do it; so now with professed Christians, who do not use the power which God, in His providence, has given them. 'Tis a false religion, too, that cannot live in the convention and at the ballot-box, as well as in the closet.

JOHN G. FEE.

DEATH OF A CENTENARIAN.—Phillip Gillam, Sr., a colored man of this village, died on the 21st inst. He was born on the 2d of August, 1755—making him at the time of his decease, one hundred and four years, two months and nineteen days old.

He enjoyed excellent health until the very day of his death. As a slave in early life of the late Major Rees, and his body servant, the deceased was a witness to many interesting and exciting incidents connected with the Revolution. He was brought to Geneva by his then master, when the latter emigrated and settled hither, and was manumitted some time previous to the adoption of the constitution of 1821, the provisions of which abolished slavery. The deceased was very industrious, honest and upright, and as such respected by all. We doubt whether in the whole State there is a person of the advanced age to which he lived.—*Geneva Gazette.*

## FREDERICK DOUGLASS IN PHILADELPHIA.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 24, 1859.

MR. EDITOR:—On Tuesday evening last Frederick Douglass, Esq., delivered his great lecture on 'Self-made Men,' to a very large and attentive audience of white and colored persons, and I think there were rather more whites than colored. Judging from the applause which greeted the self-made man during his speech, it was a decided success; indeed, Fred. was himself on that occasion. A few minutes past the time for the lecture to have commenced, Mr. John C. Bowers, President of the Philadelphia Library Co., delivered a short address, as it is customary in the society for the President to open the lecture season by a few remarks. Mr. Bowers referred in suitable terms to the occasion, and then introduced the lecturer. Mr. Douglass occupied the stand until past the hour of 10 o'clock. He referred to many men who were self-made, and among them was Benjamin Banneker. He read a letter which was sent to Thomas Jefferson by Banneker, and was very eloquent in his allusions to both those personages. Near the close of his lecture Mr. Douglass alluded to the transactions at Harper's Ferry as being the legitimate fruits of slavery, which, to my surprise, elicited deafening applause from the audience. It was a splendid effort of oratory, and it will no doubt be long remembered by those who heard it. Many persons in the audience heard Mr. Douglass for the first time, and they seemed highly delighted as far as I have been able to learn. One gentleman remarked to another as they were coming from the hall that he was the greatest Douglass in the United States. In the midst of his speech, Mr. Douglass took occasion to remark that slavery found no place in the Constitution of our country. In this, however, some of his most enthusiastic admirers do not agree with him. Mr. Douglass left the city on Wednesday for Boston, where I am told he is to repeat the lecture.—*Cor. Anglo-African.*

KIDNAPPING.—The *Missouri Republican* of August 2d has the following:

'A runaway negro was taken up in Cairo, Illinois, and committed to jail in Charleston, Mississippi county, Missouri, on the 10th day of May, 1859—a negro man, who says his name is Alfred, and that he is free. Said negro is about thirty years old; weight, 160 pounds; he is of black color, of rather a sprightly turn. He says he can read; has been a striker on steamers William M. Morrison and Cora Anderson, and has been living in St. Louis several years. He has some scars on his back, and on the instep of his right foot; had a tweed coat, speckled cassimere pants and white shirt on.

'The owner of said negro is hereby required to prove property as the law directs, pay all charges incurred on account of said negro, within three months, or otherwise he will be sold to the highest bidder for cash, at the Court House door, in the town of Charleston, on the 17th day of September, 1859.

'W. F. MYRICK,  
'Sheriff of said County.'

It will be seen that this negro was taken, without a shadow of law, from Illinois into Missouri—in other words, kidnapped. The impudence of this sheriff is decidedly refreshing, but the case is a fair illustration of the lawlessness of Slavery.

A WHITE GIRL IN SLAVERY.—A letter from Bedford county, Tenn., addressed to the Postmaster of St. Louis, states that there is a girl twelve years old, held as a slave in that vicinity, who claims to be the daughter of Peter McGregory, a St. Louis merchant. She says that she was at boarding school, when a man came and told her that her father had sent for her. Instead of taking her home, however, he carried her to Memphis and sold her as a slave, threatening to kill her if she said that she was free. The *St. Louis Democrat*, in publishing the account, says there is a merchant of the name of McGroarty in that city, but does not vouch for the truth of the letter.

CIVILIZING UNDER DIFFICULTIES.—A Southern gentleman lately related an anecdote, which would indicate that some of the newly imported Africans may require more efficient instruments for their training and civilization than have usually been relied on for their imbuing our Southern born negroes with the virtues of activity and fidelity. A planter ordered two of these sons of the East, who are uncorrupted by the strange abolitionism which pervades some of the plantations. As they entered the yard, a bloodhound, one of the instructors and police of the establishment regarding them as intruders, leaped upon one of them. The fellow was a large, muscular negro, and belonged to a tribe who sharpened their teeth.

Nothing daunted by the attack, he entered upon the contest with the greatest zeal. So successfully did he use his fist and heels and pointed teeth, that the fierce dog was obliged to cry for mercy. The animal even slunk away under a building, but the negro crept in after him, dragged him out, and would have killed him had he not been stopped. The astonished planter looked upon his pounded and maimed bloodhound, and then upon the triumphant African, reflected a moment, and gave orders for his new couple to be marched away from his premises forthwith. He dare not trust the civilizing influences which he had at his disposal.

PLOT TO ENSLAVE FREEMEN.—An infamous attempt to enslave a family of free negroes has recently come to light in Louisville. Some years ago, a negro man and his wife were emancipated by the will of their deceased master. They were a frugal and industrious couple, and were soon able to purchase the freedom of their son. This son subsequently married a slave girl, who was also purchased by the father, who kept a bill of sale of both, and gave them free papers. On Sunday, the old negro died very suddenly, and under circumstances that courted suspicions that he was poisoned. A tailor named McGrath, who knew that the old negro had a bill of sale of the son and daughter-in-law, but was not aware that he had given them free papers, and thought it a rare chance to make a speculation by returning the young folks to Slavery. A lawyer named Cleary, was let into the plot and consented to further it. The negro man and his wife were arrested, and a bill of sale produced, when their rascality was suddenly stopped by the production of the free papers. The lawyer and tailor were put under arrest for conspiracy, and the cause of the old negro's sudden death may also be looked into.

THE IRRESISTIBLE EXODUS.—One hundred and forty negroes, in charge of Birch & Kearny, were shipped from this port yesterday, on the Southern bound steamer Cora Anderson. Another small lot of from twenty to thirty were also shipped on the A. B. Chambers.—All these negroes were purchased in Missouri.

The frequency of these shipments is beginning to excite much attention and remark among our citizens. Scarcely a day passes but gangs of these unfortunate creatures are seen trailing, in couples with drivers in front and in the rear, down the principal streets leading to the river. Missouri undoubtedly is being rapidly depleted of her young and vigorous slaves. At present prices they are entirely too valuable to hold, in this, to them, unhealthy climate, and in such precarious proximity to the Free States. The old and infirm remain to die, or watch the slow but irrepressible exodus of their children, and the gradual fading away of the system of Slavery.—*St. Louis Democrat.*

—A few years ago Cassius M. Clay's newspaper office in Kentucky was mobbed and the materials destroyed. Last week, the Kentucky Free South, an anti-slavery paper edited by Mr. Bailey at Newport, Ky., was attacked by a mob, and its forms scattered in the street. The Administration organs at Washington have tried to instigate a mob to destroy the National Era office in that city.



## MISCELLANEOUS NEWS ITEMS.

—Rev. T. W. Higginson has returned from a visit to the family of Capt. John Brown. He found them up among the Adirondac mountains in New York, near Lake Champlain, opposite Burlington, Vt.; Mrs. Brown and four of her surviving children, three daughters and one son. She is a second wife, and has been the mother of twelve children. Brown had eight children by a previous wife, making twenty in all. Eight of the twenty are now living. Mrs. Brown accompanied Mr. Higginson on his return, and he went with her to Boston. She intends to leave for Virginia, having telegraphed to Gov. Wise for permission to visit her husband in prison.

—A negro was recently arrested at Jacksontown, Va., for some trivial offence. An old negress informed the officer that a gang of negroes were in the habit of assembling at the house of this man. A search was made, and the books and papers of a society were found, which was organized in 1854. The books showed that they now have \$250 in their treasury.

—The Governor of Maryland has ordered the Sheriff of Washington county to appoint a sufficient number of deputies residing along or near the boundary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania, and others residing along the line of the Potomac river, who may be empowered to act with authority of law in case of any assembly of unlawful characters, or men whose character and purpose is not known, and to arrest and detain them. In pursuance of this order, the Sheriff has summoned 500 men in various parts of the county to act as his special deputies.

—Great excitement has been caused among the slaveholders at Cynthiana, Ky., in regard to the disclosures of one of the Harper's Ferry prisoners, that a servile insurrection of the slaves in Kentucky was soon to take effect. A meeting has been held, stringent resolutions adopted, and a thorough police force organized, so that, according to a correspondent of the Louisville Courier, 'the slightest demonstration on the part of the conspirators will be the signal for the concentration of the forces of the whites for battle.'

—A man named Stillwell was recently arrested at Alexandria, Va., for expressing sentiments denunciatory of Southern institutions and people, while in conversation on the subject of the Harper's Ferry affair. He was required to give bail in the sum of \$500 to keep the peace!

—The following 'puff' from one of our Texas exchanges furnishes a specimen of puffing which will be new to our readers:

'NEGROES.—Messrs. McMurry & Winstead have opened a market in Galveston, an institution that our State has long felt the want of, and we think its conveniences both to the buyer and seller will be such that it will be a permanent affair. See their advertisement.'

—Ralph Plumb and his brother, S. Plumb, of Oberlin, have published letters denying the truth of the statements made by Copeland in his confession, implicating them in the Harper's Ferry affair. They deny that they ever gave Copeland money, or that they ever had any conversation with him in relation to Brown's project. Copeland was induced to make his statements, doubtless, in the hope of thereby saving his life. His confession was extorted by the threats and promises of U. S. Marshal Johnson of Cleveland, who was particularly anxious to get testimony against the Messrs. Plumb, who were active in the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue.

The following advertisement appears in the Richmond Whig:

**\$10,000 REWARD**—JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS having openly declared himself a *Traitor* in a lecture at Philadelphia, on the 25th of October, and there being no process, strange to say, by which he can be brought to justice, I propose to be one of one hundred to raise \$10,000 for his safe delivery in Richmond, or \$5,000 for the production of his head. I do not regard this proposition, extraordinary as it may at first seem, either *unjust* or *unmerciful*. The law of God and the Constitution of his country both condemn him to death. For satisfactory reasons I withhold my name from the public, but it is in the hands of the Editor of the Richmond Whig. There will be no difficulty I am sure in raising the \$10,000 upon a reasonable prospect of getting the said Giddings to this city.  
Richmond, November 1st, 1859.

—A book is about to be published giving a detailed account of the cruise of the yacht *Wanderer* when on her last slaving expedition. This book, says the Charleston Mercury, will make a sensation, as it is brought out by a person who took a part in her adventures, and will give a minute account thereof.

—The following advertisement appears in the New York Herald:

**'ONE HUNDRED ABLE BODIED NEGROES WANTED.**—I wish to buy one hundred able bodied men to take South. I will take good care of them, give them clothes, plenty to eat, fair work, and if necessary an occasional strapping. All those who are in fear of starving or freezing this winter, and wish to go, report yourselves early to C. B. Howard, 98 St. Nicholas Hotel, New York.'

—A slave was recently sold by Mr. Hines of McLean county, Ky., to Mr. Hancock. The slave did not like the transfer, and it was concluded to send him to Calhoun, the county seat of McLean, for safe keeping, until his master should call for him. Jerome Culver was requested to take charge of him. The negro resisted, drawing a knife and killing Culver.—Great excitement was caused by the act drawing together a mob, when the negro was forcibly taken from the officers and hung on a tree.

—The N. O. Orleans Picayune mentions the death by taking laudanum of a slave named Isham, aged 18 or 20 years, in a slave yard.—Deceased was the property of a man from Memphis, and was 'insured for \$1,600.' A slave girl named Maria, who was in the same yard, gave marks of deep grief, and made an attempt to commit suicide; she was prevented in time, and sent to the lock up for greater safety. She avowed that she and Isham were lovers; they had quarreled two days before, and he had threatened to kill himself; he had surely taken the laudanum voluntarily, and as she was the cause of his death, she did not wish to survive him.

—Gilbert, the first member of Congress from California, was killed in a duel. Herbert, another member of Congress, murdered a hotel waiter at Washington. Key, the District Attorney, who treacherously connived at his acquittal, was shot by Sickles; and now Senator Broderick is killed by a Judge of the Supreme Court! This is a bloody and disgraceful record for so young a State.

—The arms recently furnished to a colored volunteer company of Philadelphia have been taken away by the Adjutant General, in consequence of the Harper's Ferry affair.

—The Evening Journal says that when Old Brown's sons were murdered by Missouri Border Ruffians, and his daughter, who witnessed the murder, became a maniac, the Administration journals were ridiculing the 'shrieks of Kansas.'

—A large indignation meeting was held at Chillicothe, Ohio, on Saturday last, to give expression to the sentiments held by the citizens there in regard to the kidnapping into slavery of Oliver Anderson. Speeches were made by several of the most prominent citizens, and great indignation was felt at the outrage committed.

—A slave-trade barbecue was held at Mt. Pleasant, S. C., recently, the whole crowd numbered 175 persons.

—The Massachusetts House of Representatives, by a vote of 99 to 110, has receded from its former action on the bill relative to the statue of Horace Mann, and thereby concurred with the Senate, thus allowing the statue to be placed on the State House grounds without the approval of another Legislature.

—The London (Eng.) Telegraph gravely states that in the United States, 'among the candidates of the Democratic party for the Presidency, the most prominent is Stephen A. Douglas, a black man, who for many years has conducted an Abolition and Emancipation paper with signal success.' This will be news to our namesake.

—The Ohio State Journal says:—'John Brown is the father of twenty-two children—a force sufficient, itself, to take the State of Virginia and frighten the slaveholders everywhere. We suppose some of these children were girls but we don't think that would make any difference. Woman would scare the Virginians—'babes in arms' would do it.'

—John H. Scott, a colored man, and one of the Oberlin rescuers, took the first premium at the Lorain Co. Fair for the best buggy harness, manufactured by himself. At Wellington he also took the first premium for the best double carriage harness. His right to these premiums, says the N. Y. Tribune, appears to have been respected by his white competitors, Judge Taney to the contrary notwithstanding.

—Three Sharpe's rifles and a small lot of ammunition were found in the woods near Chambersburg last week, supposed to have been left there by some of Capt. Cook's party. One rifle has C. P. Tidd (one of Brown's men) on the mounting. Col. Washington's pistol has not been recovered, and nothing has been seen of Tidd, Owen Brown, Anderson, and the squad of slaves that managed to escape during the attack on the engine house. Cook and Hazlett have been taken to Charlestown for trial. A nephew of Gerrit Smith has the 'honor' of arresting Cook.

—The Cincinnati Gazette says that the individual who wrote the anonymous letter from that city to Secretary Floyd, hinting at the plan of Brown to excite an insurrection at Harper's Ferry, is supposed to be the same who betrayed the negroes whom Connelly had secreted in his room. He has had the confidence of the 'Underground' men, and has used this confidence to betray fugitives and get the rewards offered for them by their masters.

—Francis J. Merriam, of Boston, who had some connection with the affair at Harper's Ferry, but who escaped before the taking of the arsenal has since died of his wounds. He was hurriedly buried in some part of Pennsylvania by fugitive slaves. Mr. Merriam was a grandson of the venerable Francis Jackson, President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and was Mr. Redpath's companion and interpreter in his recent travels in Hayti, sketches of which have been published in our paper.

—On Saturday evening last not less than fifteen thousand dollars' worth of 'property' passed through this city on a train of the U. G. R. R., fairly rivalling the Central road. But the most wonderful part of the story is, that in the transit across the Suspension Bridge at Niagara, the 'property' suddenly became metamorphosed into about a dozen young and middle aged men and women. These 'chattels personal' were part of a large shipment which left Alexandria, Va., about the time of the Harper's Ferry insurrection.

—A valuable slave man, belonging to Mr. Benton of Sharpsburg, Md., hung himself recently, in consequence of his master refusing to sell him to go South with a colored girl upon whom his heart's affections had been placed.

—In repeating his oration on Webster, at Boston, the other day, Mr. Everett omitted the passage contained in it on the first delivery, to the effect that Mr. Webster believed 'that free labor would ultimately prevail throughout the country.' The passage has excited remark, and Mr. Everett was afraid to repeat it.

—The State of Mississippi is in imminent danger from a carpenter named Wm. Landberg, who actually said, right before witnesses, that 'negroes had feelings as well as anybody else.' Thereupon one Jonathan Weathersby prints half a column in the Mississippiian, warning the whole South against the frightful Abolitionist.

—The Louisville Journal has no complaint to make against Gov. Wise's lenity in avowing his purpose to let Gerrit Smith off with a lecture, as a penalty for his Abolition offenses.—The Journal thinks the being compelled to listen to a lecture a severer punishment than confinement in the Penitentiary.

—Twenty years ago the number of colored men in Canada West was 3,400; now there are more than 40,000. In four months after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, 10,000 poured into that country.

—A colored impostor succeeded in getting considerable money from the members of the late Christian Anti-Slavery Convention at Chicago, by pretending that he had a wife and children in slavery whom he wished to purchase.

—A firm in Portsmouth, Va., has received a consignment of two tierces sugar and two tierces of molasses from Liberia. The sugar was raised by Charles Cooper, a colored man who went from Portsmouth in 1856.

**THE ELECTIONS.**—Sufficient returns have been received to indicate that the entire Republican State ticket has been elected by majorities ranging from 10,000 to 25,000. The Republicans have also carried Massachusetts, New Jersey and Wisconsin. Chicago and Detroit have elected Republican Mayors by increased majorities.